

ANCESTRY AND DESCENT IN MESOPOTAMIA
FROM THE OLD BABYLONIAN TO THE
NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the institutions and concepts of recruitment and transmission by kinship groups in ancient Mesopotamia from C. 2,000 B.C. to C. 600 B.C.

Chapter I examines the evidence of kinship relations and the structure of households, and draws the conclusion that extended households existed, and may even have been typical, at least in the MA period, whereas lineage groups were never typical in Mesopotamia. Evidence points to the authoritarian role of the father as household head and the crucial importance of the relationship between father and son. Daughters, however, were only temporary members of the kinship group, leaving it on marriage.

In Chapter II systems of inheritance and succession are examined. At all periods control of property, especially land, lay with men, and deviations from the norm of father-to-son succession to both property and roles were rare. The Chapter also shows the supplementary methods of recruitment, especially adoption.

The remainder of the thesis examines Mesopotamian concepts of the relationship between descendants and ancestors. The desire for descendants to perpetuate individual identity was apparently widespread, but it would appear that only in the royal family was the memory of ancestors preserved for more than a few generations, whether by written records or by the practice of ancestor worship.

The last Chapter deals with lineage as a concept. Birth was not the exclusive measure of status in Mesopotamian society, but was frequently used to maintain status, especially by NA kings. Among commoners descent was less important, but its importance increased in the course of history, at least in Babylonia, as shown by the development of ancestral names.

An Appendix of notes on kinship terminology and a Glossary of relevant terms are added.

Preface

The research for this thesis has consisted for the most part of the sifting of the published cuneiform texts for evidence of the concepts held by the people of ancient Mesopotamia of their relationship with their ancestors and descendants. My aim has been to attain as wide a perspective as possible on these concepts and their continuing importance in the Babylonian and Assyrian cultures and social structures, by reviewing and comparing different categories of texts. My interest in this field of research arose out of the exploration of the uses that might be made of the discipline of social anthropology in deepening our insight into Babylonian and Assyrian institutions.

I have no formal training in social anthropology and am aware that there is scope for a much more thorough treatment of the institutions included within my field of research, ideally by collaboration with anthropologists. My research is presented only as a preliminary survey of the subject.

This thesis would never have been completed without the constant encouragement and confidence of my Supervisor, Professor D. J. Wiseman, Professor of Assyriology in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who has given generously of his time and his knowledge of the Assyriological field.

I am also indebted to Miss B. E. Ward of the Department

of Anthropology and Sociology of the School of Oriental and African Studies for her enthusiastic interest and guidance at the research stage of my work. All responsibility for anthropological judgements made in the thesis is, of course, entirely my own. I have also been given some assistance on an informal basis by students of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, for which I am grateful.

My thanks are also due to Mr. N. Postgate of the Department of the Near and Middle East, School of Oriental and African Studies, for giving time to discuss aspects of the Neo-Assyrian documents, helping me in particular to understand parts of the Assyrian Domsday Book.

Finally I acknowledge my obligation to the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies for their award in 1967 of a Postgraduate Exhibition, which enabled me to pursue my research full-time for two years.

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Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the evidence of the experience of ascendants and descendants⁽¹⁾ among the Assyrians and Babylonians, and to relate the evidence of subjective experience to the evidence of the use made in practice of the relationship between ascendants and descendants through the continuing process of the recruitment by kinship groups of new members and the transmission of property, status and knowledge.

The mechanisms of recruitment (marriage, concubinage, adoption) and of transmission (inheritance, succession) are institutions, which may be examined with some degree of objectivity. The concepts of recruitment and transmission, on the other hand, are subjective and therefore much more difficult to analyse.

The above-mentioned institutions were basic elements of the social and economic structure of Assyria and Babylonia, and the present work is intended as a contribution to the body of research aiming for a synthesis of the evidence of the structure of these ancient societies and their cultures.⁽²⁾

The thesis covers about one and a half millenia, from the rise to power of the first West Semitic dynasties (about 2,000 B.C.) to the end of the last Assyrian empire (612 B.C.) The study has been limited to this period mainly because the structure of Mesopotamian society, both in the 3rd millenium B.C. and in the Late Babylonian period, appears to have differed radically from that of the intervening period. Naturally

these changes must have taken place gradually and changes were continuing to take place throughout the period covered by the thesis, so that these historical limits can only be approximate. Reference will, of course, be made to other periods where relevant. In dealing with such a large area over such a long period of time many local and temporal differences must have become blurred and such a study must concentrate on structures which appear to be common over a large area for a considerable period of time.

Methods

Methods of approach to the problem of understanding institutions and concepts of alien cultures have been developed over the last hundred years by the discipline of social anthropology.⁽³⁾ Traditionally this discipline is concerned with the type of society which was formerly called "primitive", but is now more often called "small scale" (with reference to social structure) or "pre-industrial", "of simple technology" or "non-literate" (with reference to technology). Ancient Mesopotamia was not a society of this type, but a peasant society with a comparatively elaborate technology and wide field of social relations, at least among the power-holding groups. Social anthropologists have only recently begun to study peasant societies,⁽⁴⁾ and their work should do much to illuminate Mesopotamian institutions.

Anthropological work even on simpler societies has, however, provided conceptual tools which can be used in the objective study of most alien cultures and help to control the intrusion of the student's cultural background. Such work has demonstrated, for instance, some of the social uses

in simple societies of customs and beliefs which have been equally widespread in more complex societies including Mesopotamia (and including European societies up to the Industrial Revolution). Of course an institution may occur in different societies for different reasons, and conclusions should never be based purely on comparative material without real evidence. A deliberate attempt has been made in the present study to avoid as far as possible dependence on parallels, but rather to use the tools of social anthropology with only very sparing reference to ethnographic data. Where such data has been included, it has for the most part been taken from societies which appear to the author to be comparable in complexity or social structure with ancient Mesopotamia, such as ancient Greece and Rome, traditional China, India and Japan, modern rural Turkey and Syria.

Sources

The evidence used for this study is almost entirely derived from written records. These are of two main kinds:

1. The records of everyday activities, written on baked or unbaked clay tablets in cuneiform script and not intended to be permanent. Thousands⁽⁵⁾ of these have, nevertheless, survived to the present day, including contracts of all kinds, administrative documents (census lists, inventories), business documents and administrative and private letters. Unfortunately, this mass of first-hand documentation is not evenly distributed over the period covered by this study. By an accident of preservation or discovery there are scarcely any private contracts on clay tablets from either Babylonia or Assyria during the period between 1600 B.C. and 1200 B.C. (though there are a large number from sites outside Babylonia

and Assyria - Nuzi, Alalakh - which used Akkadian for their legal records). Most of the Old Assyrian documents originate from the excavations of Kültepe in Anatolia, where an Assyrian merchant colony flourished for a time at the beginning of the 2nd millenium B.C.

2. Records intended to be permanent, whether monumental inscriptions on stone, or literary texts preserved by scribes and their pupils in copies on clay tablets.

There is some overlap in the type of evidence provided by the two kinds of texts, but in the main the first kind has provided material for the study of the mechanisms of recruitment and transmission, the second for the study of concepts.

Although there is an enormous and increasing volume of cuneiform material, published and unpublished, all written documentation is, of course, inadequate as evidence for a thorough analysis of social institutions, and especially of household structure. The problem is, of course, the uneven distribution of the sources over the time, area and range of social classes included in the survey. For this reason the first two chapters, and especially the first, have had to contain a great deal more speculation than is desirable. It is hoped that the work done in collecting and classifying some of the evidence will have justified the attempt at synthesis.

Previous studies of the subject⁽⁶⁾

There is no previous work known to the present author which studies the whole complex of institutions and ideas covered by this thesis. There are, however, a few works that deal with kinship relations in ancient Mesopotamia (Gaudemert,

Familienrecht; Klíma, NO 20 (1966) 99-103; Lipin, CHM 6 (1961) 628-643; Mendelsohn, BibOr 11/2 (1948) 24-40; Nakahara, Journal of History 33/2 (1950) 21-36; Schneider, Ehe und Familie (1931) or with the evidence relating to lineage groups, (Brinkman, JESHO 6 (1963) 233-242; Diakonoff, "Sale of Land" in VDI 90/4 (1964) 74-80; Matouš, AO 22 (1954) 434-443; Suleiman, Land Tenure; Yankovskaya, VDI 67/1 (1959) 35-51) but there are none dealing directly with household structure.

Previous studies of kinship relations have been based largely on the evidence of the law collections and legal documents and show a strongly jurisprudential approach to Mesopotamian institutions. An interest in Mesopotamian family law dates back to the earliest publications of cuneiform legal documents by J. Oppert and J. Ménant (Documents juridiques 1877) and by J. Kohler and F. E. Peiser (Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben 1890, etc.)

At the beginning of the present century full publications with thorough discussions were undertaken by, among others, J. Kohler and A. Ungnad (H.G. 1909-1923) and C. H. W. Johns (ADD 1898-1926) and many of the fullest discussions of institutions such as marriage, inheritance, adoption, and of roles within the family have since appeared in publications of texts or groups of texts, e.g. David & Ebeling, ARu (1929) (cuneiform texts published by Ebeling, KAJ 1927); Driver & Miles, AssL 1935; BabL 1952, 1955; Falkenstein, NSGU 1956-7; Landsberger, MSL I 1937; Schorr, UAZP 1913, and many others. Though these studies, especially those produced by collaboration between Assyriologists and legal

historians, were invaluable contributions to our understanding of Mesopotamian institutions connected with kinship and descent, their emphasis on the legal aspects of these institutions left other aspects unexplored.

The same legalistic tendency is shown in a number of monographs on specific institutions, e.g. David, Adoption 1927; Klíma, Erbrecht 1940; ArOr 18 (1950) 150 ff; ArOr 27 (1959) 401-406; Korošec, Or 6 (1937) 1 ff; Koschaker, Erbrecht⁽¹⁹²⁵⁾; ZA 41 (1933) 1-89; van Praag, Droit matrimonial 1945.

Other specific institutions included in the present field of research that have received detailed attention from scholars include ancestor worship (especially Ebeling, TuL 1931) and family names (especially Lambert, JCS 11 (1957) 1-14).

These works have proved invaluable to the present author for the synthesis that they offer of the material provided by various groups of texts.

A sporadic interest has been shown by philologists in Akkadian and Sumerian kinship terminology. An early study of a group of Akkadian and Sumerian kinship terms was undertaken by Jensen, ZA 1 (1889) 386-413, largely based on the lexical list L ú (now published by Landsberger, MSL 12 1969). More recently (1953) Labat has collected and classified, in GLECS 6 38-41, all the Akkadian terms relating to kinship, but without lexical material, references, or detailed discussion. A useful study of certain Sumerian terms has been made by Sjöberg, Heidelberger Studien. The term ^vsumu has been discussed by Schulz, Anthropos 26 (1932) 895-928. The most useful secondary source for Akkadian kinship terms, however, remains the two incomplete Akkadian

dictionaries, CAD and Hwb, supplemented by the older dictionaries⁽⁷⁾ and glossaries of particular dialects (especially Gelb, MAD III for OAkk, and von Soden, ZA 41 (1933) 90-183 for the Hymnic-epic dialect).

During the last decade the need for an approach to the study of Mesopotamian institutions as part of the total economic and social structure has been expressed by several scholars. Already in the 1950's an interest was being shown among economists in ancient Near Eastern economies. Soviet economists have shown a particular interest in the economic organisation of the Early Dynastic city state (e.g. Diakonoff, RA 52 (1958) 1 ff; VDI 6 (1955); 32 (1950) 70-93; A. J. Tyumenev, The State Economy of Ancient Sumer 1956; see F. I. Andersen, "The Early Sumerian City-State in recent Soviet Historiography in AbnNahrain I (1959-60) 56 ff.) American economists have begun to show an interest in the economic development of the ancient Near East as a whole, (especially Polanyi, Trade and Market 1957).

More recently a number of scholars in the United States (Gelb, JAOS 87 (1967) 1-8; Kramer, Ethnology I (1962) 299-314; Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia 1964 29 f) have suggested ways in which Assyriologists might collaborate with social anthropologists, as previously with legal historians, to their mutual advantage. A recent attempt by an anthropologist (G. P. Murdock, Ethnographic Atlas p. 253 and n. p. 261) to place ancient Babylonia in a system of classification of society types covering the entire world is of little value simply because of the lack of the guidance than an Assyriologist could provide.

Note: The abbreviations used throughout the thesis are, where possible, those used by R. Borger in his Handbuch der

Keilschriftliteratur 1967 (see his list of abbreviations, pp. 661-672). Additional abbreviations are listed on pp. 345-7 below..

Notes.

1. These terms are defined in the introductory paragraphs of Chapters III & V.
2. Throughout this thesis "culture" and "cultural" are used in the sense accepted among British anthropologists as appertaining to the body of knowledge, beliefs, customs, skills, etc., peculiar to a society and handed down through the generations. The term is, however, often used by American anthropologists in the sense of a society as a whole.
3. Often called "cultural anthropology" in American works..
4. See Bibliography: Redfield, Wolf, for works on peasant societies in general; see also Freedman on China; Nakane on Japan; Dube on India; Stirling on Turkey.
5. About 40,000-50,000 in Akkadian alone.
6. Titles of works are abbreviated in this section if they are included in the Bibliography.
7. C. Bezold, Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar, 1926; F. Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, 1894-6; W. Muss-Arnolt, A Concise Dictionary of the ^{yr}Assian Language, 1895-1905.

C H A P T E R O N E

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND KINSHIP

The subject of this thesis is the concept of descent and its place in Mesopotamian culture. An essential preliminary to such a study is a survey of kinship in Mesopotamia, because attitudes to ancestors and descendants are affected by lifetime kinship relations, and in particular the reciprocal roles of parents and offspring. Moreover, concepts of descent are always closely connected with patterns of inheritance, which are, therefore, examined in Chapter Two, and patterns of inheritance may be best understood in relation to the typical structure of households as the primary economic and social units, transmitting property and recruiting new members through the reproductive process.⁽¹⁾

The term "household" will be used in the following discussion, in preference to "family", which has a wide variety of meanings in popular usage,⁽²⁾ in the sense of a group of kin living under the same roof and sharing their meals.⁽³⁾ Reference will be made where necessary to household members who were not kin (or affines),⁽⁴⁾ but the object of this chapter is to collect the evidence for the characteristic kin-groupings in Assyrian and Babylonian households at the periods for which there is evidence.

The difficulties and dangers besetting such a study of an ancient society can hardly be over-emphasized.⁽⁵⁾ A conclusive analysis of household structure would have to investigate not only the typical or "normative" structure of the household, but also the average structure as affected by the developmental cycle.⁽⁶⁾ Clearly, to allow also for all

the variables of locality, social status, social change and the developmental cycle, statistical methods are demanded. Unfortunately, as has already been stressed in the Introduction, the unrepresentative character of the evidence makes such methods impossible. An attempt must, however, be made to assemble the available evidence, though it must be emphasised from the outset that all hypothetical structures founded on the evidence are extremely precarious.

1. Direct Evidence of Household Structure

1:1. The Assyrian Domesday Book and other NA Data

The most useful direct evidence for household structure at a particular time in the past is obviously that of census lists. For Mesopotamia, unfortunately, a full census list⁽⁷⁾ is available only for a single area, time and section of the population, in the form of the "Assyrian Domesday Book" (ADB)⁽⁸⁾, a census of the occupiers of landed properties (arable, vineyards, orchards and pastures) in the region of Harran in the seventh century B.C.

The document⁽⁹⁾ presents serious obstacles to interpretation, the main questions being those of the status of the farmers whose households are listed and the nature of their attachment to the land.

It is, however, known from other documents, both official⁽¹⁰⁾ and private⁽¹¹⁾, that a class of adscript serfs existed in Assyria at the time, bought and sold with the land and transmitting their status in relation to the land from father to son.

Most of the heads of households listed in ADB are described as errēsu⁽¹²⁾ (written l ú . p i n), nukaribbu (?) (l ú . g i š . SAR)⁽¹³⁾, or rē'u = (s i p a) "herdsman", which are the terms most often used in contracts of the same period to denote peasants or serfs sold with landed property.⁽¹⁴⁾ It therefore

seems likely, though it cannot certainly be shown from the evidence, that the households listed in ADB belonged to the same class of peasantry.

The document generally lists the householder by name, his sons (also often named) and daughters, with indications of age-group,⁽¹⁵⁾ his "womenfolk", and occasionally other kin. A problem is presented by the frequent⁽¹⁶⁾ listing of two, three or even five⁽¹⁷⁾ SAL . MEŠ, probably to be read sinnišate (pl.), which in NA may mean "wives" or simply "women". It is not clear whether in these cases more than one wife of the householder is listed, or wives of sons⁽¹⁸⁾ or female servants, so that a basic uncertainty about the structure of some of these households remains. In the following analysis all the SAL . MEŠ are counted as wives of the householders.

Size of Households

It is interesting to calculate the average number of persons per household, though even such a calculation has only a limited value in view of the limitations of the material and the possibility of misinterpretation. The⁽¹⁹⁾ evidence of ADB may be supplemented by a random sample of households of adscripts sold with land in private contracts of approximately the same period. For both samples only the cases where the numbers and the relationships are clearly preserved or may be reconstructed with considerable probability are counted. The second sample is taken from Aru.⁽²⁰⁾

The average number of persons per household in the 65 households counted from ADB is $\frac{242}{63} = 3.84$. This includes 5 cases where a single person household is recorded.⁽²¹⁾ The average number in the households in NA contracts compared is $\frac{61}{14} = 4.36$.

Composition of Households

There is considerable variation in the composition of households within the two samples. By far the most common type of household in both samples is that comprising a "nuclear" or "conjugal" family of man, wife or wives, and child or children. In ADB, 40 out of the 63 households compared are of this type; in Aru, 9 out of 14, roughly 63% and 64% respectively. In ADB there are 6 cases of married couples alone plus 3 of a man with two "wives"; in the Aru material only one married couple are sold as a complete household.

Apart from men living alone,⁽²¹⁾ men without wives occur as heads of households in ADB in 6 cases altogether; 2 of these households consist of a man with his (presumably widowed) mother. It is not clear whether these men are widowed or single, but it is fairly certain they are not minors as they are described as the nukaribbu and named, while their mothers are not named (Nos. 1 and 5). The 4 remaining cases of men without wives are of men with children,⁽²²⁾ including in 19. a man with a son and a sister, presumably a (temporary?) substitute for the wife in running the household. In Aru 124 (Table II no. 10) a man and his daughter are listed as a household.

The remainder of the two samples consists of:

- (a) The 5 single person households in ADB mentioned above.⁽²¹⁾ (It may be noted that omission of these 5 households from the ADB sample produces an average number of persons per household of 4.09, much nearer the Aru average, which may have been artificially increased by the exclusion of examples of unattached individuals, because of the uncertainty of interpretation of such examples.)
- (b) A three generation household (household head, 3 "wives",

2 sons, a daughter and a son's son, a total of 8), recorded in ADB 1G 16-23 (No. 13).

(c) Households which included a brother of the household head. ADB records two cases where a man with wife or wives (possibly one being the brother's wife) and child/children also had a brother living with him. The Aru documents include one case of a household head with wife, son and brother, two cases with wife and brother, and it is noteworthy that all three households include the mother as well as the brother of the head.

Finally it must be noted that one of the "nuclear" households counted above was in fact a compound household (see below) including the wife's three children, presumably by a previous marriage(103).

The average number of children per household in the households where there were children (excluding the 3 generation household in ADB, and the stepchildren in Aru § 103) is $\frac{91}{46} = 1.98$ for ADB and $\frac{25}{11} = 2.27$ for Aru. Male children outnumber female in the ratio of 2.8:1 in ADB, 2.5:1 in Aru.⁽²³⁾

Interpretation of the Evidence

It would be dangerous to draw far-reaching conclusions on the basis of such meagre evidence. A general similarity in the pattern presented by the two samples, however, allows certain suggestions to be made. It seems to suggest that⁽²⁴⁾ the "nuclear" household of man, wife and children was the most common among this class of people, being over 60% of the total sample in both cases. Three generation households are rare and in only one case is a grandfather a head of household.⁽²⁵⁾ There is no case in ADB of a father who was not head of a household, i.e. who had retired and ceded control

of household affairs to a son.

In attempting to interpret such evidence, it must first of all be observed that a predominance of nuclear households does not necessarily prove that they were the "typical" or "normal" structure, even if it is safe to accept that they were the average structure. The ideal of a three generation household in a society which regards it as typical may not be realized in many, even most cases, because of the developmental cycle, low life expectancy, and internal and external stresses precipitating premature fission into separate households.⁽²⁶⁾ Evidence of the operation of such factors will be discussed in following sections. Nevertheless, the fact that only one three generation household is found among the 63 households examined in ADB suggests very strongly that the two generation structure was imposed by external and internal pressures on most peasant households of this period and area.⁽²⁷⁾

Both samples provide evidence of brothers living together after the death of the father. In both the cases in ADB the brother is mentioned directly after the household head and before the son. In the Aru examples the brother is mentioned last and not named. The evidence of the Aru documents suggests that, as in many other societies with systems of partible inheritance,⁽²⁸⁾ the presence of the widowed mother may in some cases have helped to delay the physical division of the property and fission of the household for some time after the father's death.⁽²⁹⁾ But in no case is there evidence of brothers with children living together, though the "wives" listed in the ADB examples may have included the brothers' wives. The brothers in the Aru cases may well have been minors, and were in any case apparently unmarried, so probably

had no choice but to remain with their elder brother and mother until a marriage was arranged for them.⁽³⁰⁾

The exceptional case in ADB of a sister living with the household head has been mentioned above. It is possible that this was a married sister living temporarily away from her husband's home in order to help her brother in the emergency of losing his wife, until he found another wife. The preponderance of sons over daughters in the households examined may be explained only by assuming that married daughters left their parental home in order to live elsewhere with their husbands, and the evidence of residence rules (discussed below) supports such an assumption, as does the absence of any reference to daughters' husbands forming part of any of these households.

It is clear how precarious all interpretations based even on such direct evidence must be without an understanding of the ecological pressures on the households concerned. Johns⁽³¹⁾ suggests that the households listed in ADB Nos. 5 and 6 were forcibly settled in the Harran area as prisoners of war.⁽³²⁾ If that suggestion is accepted, it follows that the decisive economic fact for these households would have been the availability of new land for development. Such conditions of availability of land, often termed "frontier conditions", are known to favour the predominance of nuclear households and early fission,⁽³³⁾ sometimes as a temporary pattern in societies where extended households are typical. Following this theory, the presence in two cases of apparently married brothers of household heads would arise not from pressure on land in the partible system, but rather from the individual labour needs of these households at their particular stage of development, a suggestion which may be supported by the

fact that neither of these farmers has more than one son.

Families of Slaves

The only other section of the NA population for which there is evidence of kin-groups is that of chattel-slaves, bought and sold independently of land sales. Families of slaves cannot be treated strictly as households as they presumably formed part of their master's household and could be split up at his whim. This may explain the very high proportion of males (48 out of 74) in the sample, suggesting that some of the females were retained by their masters for their own use. The average size of slave families from the larger⁽³⁴⁾ than⁽³⁴⁾ those collected from the Aru documents is only very slightly larger⁽³⁴⁾ than for peasants, and significantly the average number of children in a family is noticeably larger. Many of these have only one parent, suggesting that legal marriage was not a strongly entrenched institution among slaves, who only rarely owned any property. The high birth rate may in part have been a kind of defence mechanism of an oppressed minority, particularly as we may assume a correspondingly high death rate for slaves.⁽³⁶⁾

Perhaps surprisingly, there are a few examples of groups of siblings, sometimes including a married brother, being sold together.⁽³⁷⁾ It is impossible to draw any conclusions from these observations, which are in any case based on only 26 documents, since nothing is known of the individual contracts of the sales, the role of the slaves in their master's household, their age, and the reasons for their sale. By contrast with the evidence for NA peasants, the proportion of nuclear households is, however, relatively small, ($\frac{9}{26}$ = approx. 35% as against over 60% for adscripts).⁽³⁸⁾

1:2. A MB Ration List

The only other administrative list of members of households besides ADB is the MB ration list published by A. T. Clay as BE 14 58 (Introduction, No. 15), dated in the 13th year of King Nazimaruttas^v, i.e. about 1310 B.C. Again the exact status of the households listed is difficult to define. It seems likely that they were dependants of the palace or temple from which their rations were issued,⁽³⁹⁾ since several persons listed in this and similar MB texts are described as "missing" (z á h = Akk. halqu),⁽⁴⁰⁾ a usage which occurs in NA official correspondence and administrative texts to describe persons missing from quotas of deportees, prisoners of war, adscript peasants,⁽⁴¹⁾ and conscript workers, and in texts of all periods for runaway slaves.⁽⁴²⁾

In BE 14 58, six individuals (three men and three women) are listed with the members of their households, who are named and allotted rations. Other individuals are listed alone in the text, and were presumably without dependants. The listing of individual members of a household is exceptional for MB ration lists, which normally give the total ration for "the family of PN" (ginni PN)⁽⁴³⁾ without distinguishing the individual members, as in BE 14 60 (Introduction, No. 16), which lists five of the same households as BE 14 58, but simply in terms of a total ration for ginni PN in each case.

The households⁽⁴⁴⁾ consist of either a man and woman (SAL, presumably a wife) or a woman alone and between two and four children, distinguished as "adolescent boy" (g u r u s . t u r = batūlu),⁽⁴⁵⁾ "daughter" (or "girl"?), (d u m u . SAL = mārtu) or "infant" (literally "child of the breast"), d u m u (SAL). g a b = mār(at) irti. The amount of the ration differs according to the age and sex of the recipient, older people

and males receiving more. In three cases also a GURUS^v. TUR. TUR is listed, for which Clay (BE 14 34) suggests the meaning "grandson". It is, however, more probable that GURUS^v. TUR. TUR denotes a stage in childhood between that of the infant and adolescent,⁽⁴⁶⁾ since it is placed between those two terms in the list. The three households which have a GURUS^v. TUR. TUR all have also one or two infants and, making the obvious assumption that all the children listed are offspring of the household head,⁽⁴⁵⁾ it seems an unlikely coincidence that three of the household heads should have a grandson possibly older⁽⁴⁷⁾ than their own youngest children.

If all the children listed are taken as children of the household head,⁽⁴⁵⁾ the list records three nuclear households and three mothers with their children. The average number of persons per household is $\frac{27}{6} = 4.5$ (excluding the infant daughter recorded as dead, ^vUS, in l. 25, but including the young sons recorded as absent on an expedition (k a s k a l⁽⁴⁸⁾ = harrānu) in ll. 8 and 13), and the average number of children per household is $\frac{18}{6} = 3$. In contrast with the NA evidence, female children outnumber male (10:8). In accordance with the theory advanced above in 1:1 that the NA position was the result of the marrying out of grown-up daughters, it may be suggested that the MB sample consists of households at an earlier stage of the developmental cycle, as is confirmed by the fact that all households have infant children.

The high proportion of fatherless families and relatively high number of children per household may offer parallels with NA slave families, but the amount of the data and background knowledge is unfortunately insufficient for useful comparisons to be made.

Composition of Households

Tables I - V

(See Chapter One, pp. 18-27)

Note: All members of households are listed in terms of their relationship to the household head, except in the case of female heads of household, who are listed as "wives".

Abbreviations: h = head of household

w = wife

s = son

d = daughter

b = brother

S = sister

m = mother

ss = son's son

ws = wife's son

wd = wife's daughter

bs = brother's son

Table I Composition of Households: ADB

	Reference (Johns)	h	w	s	d	b	S	m	Other	Total
1	1A 1-3	1						1		2
2	1A 4-7	1	2	2						5
3	1B 12	1								1
4	1B 13-15	1	1	1	2					5
5	1B 16-17	1						1		2
6	1B 19-20	1	2		2					5
7	1C 25-29	1	1	2	2					6
8	1C 30-31	1	1	1						3
9	1C 32-34	1	1							2
10	1D 41-44	1	1	1						3
11	1D 45-47	1	1		2					4
12	1F 8-12	1	1	1	1					4
13	1G 16-23	1	3	2	1				1 ss	8
14	1H 27-29	1	1	1	1					4
15	1I 33-35	1	1	1	1					4
16	1K 38-42	1		2						3
17	2A 2-4	1	1	1						3
18	2A 8	1								1
19	2B 10-13	1		1			1			3
20	2E 3	1	1		2					4
21	2E 5-9	1	1	3	1					6
22	2F 16	1	1	1	1					4
23	2H 8-11	1	2	1						4
24	2H 15-19	1	2	1	1	1				6
25	2K 2-5	1	1	1						3
26	3C 12-13	1	2							3
27	3C 14		1							1
28	3D 1-3	1	1	1						3
29	3L 2-5	1	2	2						5
30	3M 13-16	1	1	1						3
31	3M 17-19	1	1							2
32	3N 4-11	1	1	4	2					8
33	3N 14-17	1	1	1	3					6
34	3Q 1-2	1	1							2
35	3Q 3-5	1	1	1						3
36	3Q 6-8	1	1	1						3
37	4B 4-5	1	1							2
38	4C 7-8	1	1							2
39	4E 8-9	1	3	1		1				6
40	4F 13-14	1		1						2
		39	43	36	22	2	1	2	1	146

Table I (continued)

	Reference (Johns)	h	w	s	d	b	S	m	Other	Total
		39	43	36	22	2	1	2	1	146
41	4H 3-4	1	3	1						5
42	4M 1-2	1	1	1						3
43	4N 5	1	2	2						5
44	4P 16	1	2							3
45	4R 1		1							1
46	6A 1-2	1	3	3						7
47	6E 1	1	1	1						3
48	6E 4	1	2	2						5
49	6F 8-9	1	2							3
50	6I 5-6	1	1	1						3
51	8A 4-9	1	2	3						6
52	8B 13	1								1
53	8B 18-23	1	2	2						5
54	9F 4-5	1	1							2
55	9G 10-11	1	2	2						5
56	9H 12-13	1	3	1						5
57	9H 17-18	1	3	1						5
58	11C 2-3	1	1	5						7
59	12C 6	1		2	1					4
60	19C 3-5	1	1	1						3
61	20A 7-9	1	1	1	1					4
62	21A 3-4	1	5	2						8
63	21C 8-9	1	2							3
		61	84	67	24	2	1	2	1	242

Table II Composition of Households : Aru

Reference		h	w	s	d	b	S	m	Other	Total
1	No. 96	1	1	2						4
2	103	1	1	4					1ws 2wd	9
3	123	1	1	3	2					7
4	"	1	1	2						4
5	"	1	1	1						3
6	"	1	1			1		1		4
7	"	1	1	1		1		1		5
8	"	1	1			1		1		4
9	124	1	1	3	2					7
10	"	1			1					2
11	152	1	1		2					4
12	"	1	1							2
13	167	1	1	1						3
14	"	1	1	1						3
		14	13	18	7	3		3	3	61

Table III Types of Household: ADB and Aru

Type of Household	ADB	Aru
Nuclear	40	9
Couple without children	9	1
" " " + b + m.	-	2
h + children (no w)	3	1
" + " + S	1	-
w + " (no h)	-	-
Nuclear + b	2	-
" " " + m	-	1
h + m	2	-
Paternal grand-family	1	-
Single person: h	3	-
w	2	-
Total No. of Households	63	14
Total No. of Households with Children	46	11
Total No. of Children	91	25
" " " " : Male	67	18
" " " " : Female	24	7
Total No. of Males	131	36
Total No. of Females	111	25

Table IV Composition of Slave Households : Aru

	Reference	h	w	s	d	b	S	m	Other	Total
1	No. 60	1	1	3	2	1			3bs	11
2	61	1				3		1		5
3	"	1	1	3						5
4	"	1				3	1			5
5	"	1	1							2
6	63	1	1	4						6
7	64	1	2	2	2					7
8	66		1		1					2
9	69	1	1	4						6
10	70		1		1					2
11	71	1	1							2
12	72	1						1		2
13	73	1	1			1				3
14	80	1						1		2
15	82	1	1		1					3
16	"	1	1	3						5
17	"	1	1							2
18	"	1	1							2
19	84	1				1				2
20	87	1		2	1					4
21	159	1	1			1			1wd	4
22	191		1	2						3
23	202	1	1			2	2	1		7
24	208		1		1					2
25	231	1	1		1					3
26	455	1	1	1	4					7
		22	21	24	14	12	3	4	4	104

Table V Six MB Households BE 14 58 and 60

	(1)	(2)	(3)
BE 14 58	5 - 10	12 - 17	18 - 21
	(m) I. SAL TUR . SAL GURUS ^v . TUR ⁽¹⁾ GURUS ^v . TUR . TUR TUR . GAB	(f) I ₂ GURUS ^v . TUR GURUS ^v . TUR . TUR TUR . SAL TUR . SAL . GAB TUR . GAB	(f) B. GURUS ^v . TUR . TUR TUR . SAL . GAB TUR . SAL . GAB
BE 14 60	10 ginni (m) I	13 ginni (f) I ₂	14 ginni (f) B
Total	6	6	4

	(4)	(5)	(6)
BE 14 58	23 - 25	34 - 38	39 - 42
	(f) I ₃ TUR . SAL . GAB (US ^v .TUR.SAL.GAB)	(m) A SAL GURUS ^v . TUR TUR . SAL TUR . SAL . GAB	(m) T SAL TUR . SAL ⁽²⁾ TUR . SAL . GAB
BE 14 60	16 ginni (f) I ₃	17 ginni (m) A	- -
Total	2	5	4

1. k a s k a l

2. z á h

	h	w	s	d	Total
(1)	1	1	3	1	6
(2)		1	3	2	6
(3)		1	1	2	4
(4)		1		1	2
(5)	1	1	1	2	5
(6)	1	1		2	4
	3	6	8	10	27

1:3 Supplementary Evidence: Numbers of children

A certain amount of evidence may be gleaned from legal texts as to the numbers of children born to certain households. Evidence of this sort is provided in particular by documents recording the division of a man's estate among his sons (of which a large number have been preserved for the OB period, but very few for any other period) or the adoption of groups of siblings, and by the archives of the business documents of well-to-do families. These last often provide references to the members of the family which, because of the use of patronyms, enable their relationships to be reconstructed. The best examples date from the MA and LB periods and so there is, unfortunately, no evidence of either of these types even approximately contemporary with the MB and NA lists discussed in the previous section. Such evidence is, in any case, utterly inadequate to allow of generalisations about the "birth-rate".

Numbers of sons mentioned in partition documents vary from one⁽⁴⁹⁾ to six⁽⁵⁰⁾, being usually two or three. Little can be deduced from such haphazard evidence, but it is to be noted that, except where there are no sons to inherit⁽⁵¹⁾, there is never more than one daughter mentioned.⁽⁵²⁾ This pattern is obviously connected with the rules of inheritance, and it will be suggested below (Ch. II) in explanation that it was usually daughters who had not married into other households, i.e. who were unmarried or who had bought their husband into their own home, who were entitled to a share of the inheritance. Some such explanation seems to be demanded by the very full OB evidence, though the evidence for other periods is too sparse to provide the basis for any significant observations.

A preponderance of sons over daughters is a feature also of the prosopographical evidence from family archives of different periods.⁽⁵³⁾ In this case, however, the reason is partly that the bulk of the business was always transacted by the men of the family, though occasionally business activities of their wives are documented⁽⁵⁴⁾ and married sisters sometimes took part in business or legal transactions jointly with their brothers.⁽⁵⁵⁾ It may be understood, therefore, why not all the daughters of a family can be traced in the documents, especially since married women might sometimes be identified by their husband's name alone (and sometimes also his patronym) without their own patronym.⁽⁵⁶⁾

It may be observed that larger numbers of children are attested by this type of source than by any other. In the MA archives of the family of Bel^vsunu, for example, four sons and two daughters are attested for Nur-Kubi, son of Bel^vsunu.⁽⁵⁷⁾ For the LB Egibi family, two consecutive generations are attested with, respectively, seven sons (one of whom died young) and two daughters, and six sons and one daughter. In the following generation Itti-Marduk-bala^vtu apparently had only daughters (three are attested), since he adopted three sons of his scapegrace brother. It is noteworthy that the same phenomenon is attested for the MA family mentioned above: Nur-Kubi's son, Kinniya, adopted Naqidu, son of his brother Eriš-ili.⁽⁵⁸⁾ These adoptions and their significance are discussed below (Ch. II). They suggest that the large numbers of children attested for the adjacent generations were considered desirable, since lack of (male) children was supplemented by adoption. It may perhaps be suggested that large numbers of children were generally considered desirable by wealthy households, though it would be impossible to assess how often the desire was attained.⁽⁵⁹⁾

2. Indirect Evidence of Household Structure

2:1 Expectation of Life

In 1:1 it was pointed out that a number of factors could create a discrepancy between the ideal and the average household composition. One factor mentioned was low expectation of life. There is, of course, no means of measuring the average life expectancy in ancient Mesopotamia, but it is reasonable to assume that it was no greater than in any peasant society lacking the benefit of modern advances in preventive and curative medicine.

The occurrence of infant mortality, death in child-birth, and early death due to sickness, starvation, war, or accident, is illustrated both in individual cases and in the collective consciousness in every kind of source, especially in the omen literature,⁽⁶⁰⁾ and in personal names. The type of personal names classed by Stamm (ANG 5 40 pp 278-306) as Ersatznamen, "Substitution-names", were very common among Babylonians and Assyrians, (though rare among Ur III Sumerian names: see Limet, Anthroponymie p. 351). These express the idea that the newborn child is a substitute for a dead member of the household, most often father, brother or sister, less commonly mother, uncle, aunt, grandfather or grandmother.⁽⁶¹⁾ The desirability of a long life is a recurring literary theme in omens, the formulary of curses and individual royal and private inscriptions of all periods. A motif which first is attested in the OB period and was apparently still meaningful to the NA and NB royal families was that of living to see one's grandchildren as a symbol of attaining old age.⁽⁶²⁾ Naturally, some individuals exceeded even this goal, cf. the boast of the mother of King Nabonidus that she lived to see her great-great-grandchildren: d u m u . d u m u . d u m u .

d u m u . m e [✓] s - i a-di 4 li-pi-ia bal-tu-ut-su-nu a-mur-ma
 a[✓]s-ba-a lit-tu-tu ^dXXX (= Sin) l u g a l. d i n g i r . m e [✓] s
 a-na s i g₅ - ti tap-pal-sa-an-ni-ma u₄-mi-ia tu-ri-ki,

"My great-great-grandsons up to four generations of my descend-
 ants I have seen alive, and have lived a full life. Sin,
 king of the gods, you have looked towards me and have lengthened
 my days." (Nabonidus H1,B Col. ii [AS 8 p. 51], ll. 33-35.)

Naqi'a, the wife of Sennacherib, was still alive at the time
 of the accession of her grandson, Assurbanipal, and politically
 active on his behalf.⁽⁶⁵⁾

There is no evidence as to whether infanticide or female
 infanticide was ever a common practice in Mesopotamia. There
 is, however, evidence from several different periods of the
 sale of infants to assure their maintenance in times of
 famine,⁽⁶⁴⁾ and the abandonment of infants is attested for some
 periods.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Such phenomena can readily be accounted for by the
 precarious conditions of livelihood in the Mesopotamian
 economy, but it is impossible to gauge their extent or their
 total demographic effect.

2:2 The Evidence of Family Law Documents

Of the vast quantity of legal and economic documents
 which form the largest single category of cuneiform texts,
 a considerable number are private contracts regulating the
 rights and duties arising out of relations of kinship and
 affinity (relationship through marriage). Documents concerned
 with various forms of marriage, divorce, affiliation, adoption
 and inheritance, together with the regulations in the
 collections of laws,⁽⁶⁶⁾ provide surprisingly little clear
 evidence about the typical structure of households, although
 they reveal much about the reciprocal roles of kin and affines
 in practice and theory.

2:2:1 The Role of the Household Head

There is abundant evidence for all periods⁽⁶⁷⁾ that succession and inheritance (and, for a few purposes, descent) were patrilineal, i.e. passed from father to son, and that the father as head of household⁽⁶⁸⁾ had considerable powers, almost justifying the term "patriarchal"⁽⁶⁹⁾, over wife and children. A major illustration of this power of the father over the persons of his dependants is provided by economic documents of all periods in which the wife and/or children are pledged as security against a loan.⁽⁷⁰⁾ The evidence suggests that the father's powers were more extensive in Assyria than in Babylonia, cf. certain OA contracts⁽⁷¹⁾, in which a sum of money was paid to a father in return for the temporary services of his son (which would otherwise have been at the father's disposal), the powers of husbands over their wives supported by the MA laws,⁽⁷²⁾ and the description of fathers in MA and NA contexts as bēlu⁽⁷³⁾ "master, owner" of the son or daughter who is the object of the transaction.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The acceptance of these powers so pervades all the legal institutions of both Assyria and Babylonia, however, that it will be self-evident to all Assyriologists and there is no need to multiply examples.⁽⁷⁵⁾

2:2:2 Marriage

Marriage in ancient Mesopotamia has been the subject of constant scholarly attention, especially from the point of view of comparative law, since the earliest days of Assyriology, and the volume of the literature on the subject⁽⁷⁶⁾ attests to the central importance of the institution for the understanding of Mesopotamian society and culture, as well as to the considerable amount of textual evidence available, especially contracts of marriage and divorce and important sections of the collections of laws.⁽⁶⁶⁾

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The following investigation will concentrate on the subject of residence rules. Theoretically a young couple on marriage may live with the husband's parents or with the wife's parents, or may set up house on their own, or may even continue to live in separate households, the husband visiting the wife's home at intervals. The mode of residence may alter during the course of the marriage, and different modes of residence may be practised in the same society, though usually one mode is typical, and is practised by the majority of the population.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Clearly the predominant mode of residence of young couples in a society has a decisive effect on the average household structure of the society, the crucial question being the stage in the developmental cycle at which married couples usually set up a separate household, whether it be immediately upon marriage, on the death of one or both of the parents of husband or wife, or at some other point, such as the birth of the first child or when it reaches a certain age, bearing in mind that the pattern may vary according to individual circumstances.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Normal Residence Patterns

For Mesopotamian society only two possible modes of residence need be considered. The inheritance rules, discussed in Chapter Two and the additional evidence referred to above, show that daughters usually left their own parents' household on marriage, and one would not indeed expect that newly married couples would normally live with the wife's kin in an extended household, since this mode of residence, known as "uxorilocal",⁽⁷⁹⁾ is predominant only in societies where property is transmitted through females.⁽⁸⁰⁾ In Mesopotamia one

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would expect the pattern by which a married couple normally lives in the household of the husband's father (in which household the husband's hopes of inherited property to pass on to the children of the marriage were invested) or the pattern by which they would normally set up a separate conjugal household. Since the first, "patrilocal", solution would produce an extended household, and the second, "neolocal" solution a nuclear household, it is obvious that residence rules are first-class evidence for the predominant household structure.

Unfortunately, most of the evidence relating to marriage in ancient Mesopotamia is inconclusive on the subject of mode of residence. The only document in which residence is mentioned in a specific case is the OB text published in UET 5 636 and by Greengus in JCS 20 (1966) 55-72, which lists the expenses incurred by a father on the marriage of his daughter. This extremely interesting text is the only document providing detailed evidence of the ceremonies attending marriage.⁽⁸¹⁾

In this case the bridegroom, together with a group of his relatives,⁽⁸²⁾ stayed in his wife's father's household in Ur for four months after the ceremonies, after which the couple removed to Larsa where the bridegroom's kin lived.⁽⁸³⁾ There is no evidence that this stay with the bride's kin was customary, and Finkelstein suggests⁽⁸⁴⁾ that the fact that the couple came from two different major cities may have affected the arrangements. Even from this text it is not clear whether the couple went to live with the young man's family⁽⁸⁵⁾ when they reached Larsa or whether they set up a new household. One may justifiably assume that marriages, particularly among the less wealthy, were more usually arranged between households who were neighbours,⁽⁸⁶⁾ and that close links would be established

between them by the marriage.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The OB text under discussion does, however, provide evidence of a case where, when the households were considerably far apart, residence near or with the husband's kin was chosen in preference to residence near or with the wife's relations.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Little can be concluded, however, from an isolated example. There is, nevertheless, considerable evidence of the role of fathers in relation to their married sons which suggests that patrilocal residence may have been a quite common pattern.

There is evidence that at all periods the father⁽⁸⁹⁾ of the bridegroom often chose the bride for his son and paid the bridewealth (tirbatu) for her.⁽⁹⁰⁾ This role is particularly strongly marked in certain of the MA laws, especially in those cases where a man has acquired by the customary procedure of prestation the rights of father-in-law over a young woman and has the right to give her in marriage to a son other than the one for whom the girl's hand was originally sought.⁽⁹¹⁾ Indeed at this period a man might even have the right to choose a wife for a son who was already a widower⁽⁹²⁾ or even for a grandson whose father was dead.⁽⁹³⁾ MAL A 45 appears to assume that a woman whose husband was missing on military service might be dependent on her father-in-law. These examples of a father's power extending to his son's family suggest the role of the head of an "extended" household including the sons' wives and children.

There is no evidence of such extensive rights in the Babylonian material (and there is very little evidence relating to marriage in Assyria except for the MA period). There is, however, evidence from various periods and areas of the transaction by which a man acquired rights over another man's daughter, known as kall(at)utu(m), "daughter-in-lawship", or

mārtūtu(m) u kall(at)ūtu(m), "daughter-ship and daughter-in-law-ship, to give her in marriage to one of his sons."⁽⁹⁴⁾ In some cases of this institution the girl lived in her father-in-law's house for some time before her marriage.⁽⁹⁵⁾ This institution, and the special relationship between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law which it created, a relationship which is reflected in the terminology,⁽⁹⁶⁾ do not, however, necessarily indicate patrilocal residence of the married couple.

The possibility that some fathers, in the MA period at least, exercised their considerable powers over their sons' wives and children in virtue of their supposed role as effective heads of three-generation households suggests a possible explanation⁽⁹⁷⁾ of the common use of the grandfather's name in MA documents alongside the patronym, as a means of identification (X amār Y amār Z = "X, son of Y, son of Z").⁽⁹⁸⁾ If children were brought up in the house of their paternal grandfather, respecting him as head of the household to whom their own father was subordinate, they might well refer respectfully to the grandfather as well as to the father in identifying themselves. The fact that such references are the regular custom in the MA period would, if the hypothesis is accepted, be an indication that the three-generation household was typical at this period. The rarity of such references⁽⁹⁹⁾ at other periods suggests that MA society may have differed from Babylonian and Assyrian society of other periods in this respect.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

It must be recognized, however, that even if it were certain that the usage reflects the (nominal or effective) authority of a father over his sons' conjugal families, such authority could conceivably operate even if the sons headed separate households.

Finally, in favour of the theory that patrilocal residence was fairly common at other periods also, at least in the early stages of a marriage, it may be pointed out that in none of the documents relating to the negotiation and completing of marriages by the fathers of bridegrooms is there any reference to a settlement by the father of land, house or other kind of property on the couple.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The agricultural basis of the economy would, however, demand in most cases the use of land for the subsistence of a new household. Such land could normally only be given by or inherited from the husband's father.⁽¹⁰²⁾ It is, therefore, difficult to imagine how a young man who had not inherited his share in his father's estate would be able to support a wife and family independently. It is, of course, quite possible that in some cases a young man might continue to farm the family land under his father's direction while occupying separate quarters or a separate house on the land.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Only in very few cases did the dowry^{ry} (NB nudunnū, OB šeriktu) contributed by the father of the^{the} bride include land.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The fact that there is only very sporadic evidence of the division of paternal estates during the father's lifetime is, however, a strong argument in favour of the prevalence of patrilocal residence at most periods, particularly as the omen literature treats such premature partition as an extraordinary event (see below p. 45).

and n. 115

Uxorilocal Residence

Evidence of uxorilocal residence, i.e. of a husband's taking up permanent residence in his wife's household, is extremely rare. Most of the known cases fall into the category of son-in-law adoptions, which will be discussed in Ch. II.

It has been suggested that references in the MA laws to a wife who is "living in her father's house"⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ provide examples of a form of marriage which occurred sporadically in ancient Israel⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and was known among the Arabs as beena-marriage,⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ in which the wife remained in her father's household and was visited from time to time by her husband. The cases which occur in the MA laws can, however, hardly be compared with these examples since, as Driver and Miles point out,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ the husband's kin exercised the same rights over her as in the case of virilocal marriage. Driver and Miles suggest⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ rather that such passages deal with a stage in the marriage process preceding the transfer of the bride to her husband's house, and this interpretation is strengthened by the evidence of the OB wedding expenses document, UET 5 636, discussed above, where the bride remained with her husband in her father's house for four months following the marriage, thus showing that the transfer of the bride could be delayed. Driver and Miles further suggest⁽¹¹⁰⁾ that the reason for the residence in the father's house may in these cases have been that the bride was too young for the marriage to be completed, so that the girl was in essentially the same legal position as the kallatu living in her father-in-law's house before completion of her marriage, the difference in residence being dictated by individual circumstances.⁽¹¹¹⁾

The very different institution of uxori-local marriage, in which the husband renounces all property interests in his own family in order to be accepted into his wife's family, is attested in MA documents only in the special case of a widow's remarriage, where her husband may choose to live in her household, in which case everything he owns passes into her possession.⁽¹¹²⁾

2:2:3 Joint Fraternal Households

When the head of a three-generation household dies, his married and unmarried sons may remain together for some time before splitting up to form separate households. There is some evidence for the existence of such "joint fraternal" households in Mesopotamia, though not sufficient to show how common such households were.

Cases of NA households of adscript serfs including a brother⁽¹¹³⁾ of the head as well as his wife and children are discussed above on pp. 23-24, where it is pointed out that it is not clear whether any of these brothers is married, and that none has children. These cases cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence of complete joint fraternal households consisting of two or more nuclear families of the same generation.

The crucial question to be considered in trying to establish the usual stage at which household fission took place is the source of livelihood of the new household. As explained above, the stage in the developmental cycle at which sons usually received their share of the patrimonial land may be expected to affect the stage at which household fission took place.

The Hammurabi laws perhaps imply that partition normally took place in the OB period shortly after the father's death,⁽¹¹⁴⁾ though examples of partition during the father's lifetime do occur in the OB documents.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

There are several references in OB and MA sources to coparcener brothers, i.e. brothers holding the paternal estate jointly. Several of the MA laws regulate the rights of such brothers, termed in Akkadian ahhē lā zizūte, "undivided

brothers". MAL A 25 refers to special rights⁽¹¹⁶⁾ held by coparcener brothers in relation to their brother's widow by virtue of being coparceners. The only OB reference occurs in LE 16:1 and, like MAL B 2-4, is concerned with outside claims on the share of one brother in land held jointly.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ It is impossible to know, however, whether these cases are included in the laws because they are normal or because they are exceptional.

It is, of course, not certain that in all cases where brothers had not yet divided the patrimonial land and were farming jointly they were necessarily living as a single household.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ The causes precipitating the final division of the property, perhaps normally accompanied by household fission, cannot be known, though various factors may be suggested.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

No OA or MB references to coparcener brothers can be adduced, though BBS 9 shows an early NB instance where a father needed the agreement of his six "brothers" (possibly = kinsmen; see below) in order to dispose of some land as dowry for his daughter. The possibility that some kind of tribal ownership may have operated in this case is discussed in the next section.

There is no clear evidence as to whether, in such households, all adult brothers had equal status or one brother exercised authority as head of household over the others. During the OB and MA periods, for which there is evidence of coparcener brothers, there is also evidence of a special status of the eldest brother (known as ahu rābū) who received a larger share of the inheritance than the others. In view of this evidence, which is discussed in Ch. II, it may be suggested that in joint fraternal households the eldest brother had the status of head of household. In support of this theory

it may be pointed out that in neither of the cases in ADB of two brothers living together are they treated as joint heads of the households, although in both cases the brother is listed immediately after the head and before his son.⁽¹²⁰⁾

It must finally be observed that, even after brothers had divided up the paternal estate and were living in separate households, they would still be close neighbours in the vast majority of cases and would cooperate for a variety of purposes, often continuing to share certain amenities for farming purposes⁽¹²²⁾ or cooperating in business.⁽¹²³⁾

2:2:4 Compound Households

Compound households are those in which two or more nuclear families with a common parent live under the same roof. Households of this type may arise out of the second marriage of widows and widowers or out of polygamous marriage.⁽¹²⁴⁾

Cases in which men or women had children by two consecutive marriages are attested by the documents and law collections⁽¹²⁵⁾ and it is probable that, at least in some cases where the children of the first marriage were still young, all the children lived under the same roof. This is suggested particularly by the OA marriage document published as ARK 2, which provides that certain obligations of the new husband to a third party will not extend to his wife's son, and by MAL A 28, which denies the right to a share in his stepfather's estate to a boy brought up by that same stepfather.⁽¹²⁶⁾

Compound households might arise also when a man had more than one wife at a time or a wife and a concubine. Slave girls might be given as concubines by wives to their husbands in the event of childlessness, as shown by OB and NA evidence,⁽¹²⁷⁾ but CH 170 shows that in the OB period a man might have

children both by his wife and by a slave-concubine, and regulates the inheritance position of the latter.⁽¹²⁸⁾

Evidence of men having more than one wife comes from⁽¹²⁹⁾ the OB period and from the MA period, but unfortunately there is no way of knowing how common polygamy and concubinage were among the general population.⁽¹³⁰⁾ In most societies where the institutions exist they are generally, for obvious reasons, restricted to the wealthier members of the population, and there is no reason to believe that Babylonia and Assyria were exceptional. Mendelsohn's contention (BA 11/2 24) that Assyrian society, by contrast with Babylonian society, was "basically polygamous" cannot be upheld on the basis of the available evidence. In all the known cases from Mesopotamian sources, the second wife or concubine was inferior in position to the main wife, even when she had the status of wife (assatu)⁽¹³¹⁾ rather than that of concubine or slave. For dynastic and political reasons kings always had a large number of wives and concubines. The factors determining differences of status among royal wives are not entirely clear.⁽¹³²⁾

Domestic slaves in general may be mentioned here as forming part of certain households. It is not clear what proportion of the population at different periods could afford to own slaves, though domestic slaves are mentioned often enough in legal documents and literary texts (especially omens and "wisdom literature") to suggest that ownership of slaves was not a privilege of the very wealthy. The Assyrian and Babylonian economies were not dependent on slave labour⁽¹³³⁾ and the number of slaves mentioned in documents as belonging to individual households rarely exceeds two or three, though an increase may be observable in the later (NB and NA) documents.⁽¹³⁴⁾

3. More extended kinship groups

As has already been stated in the Introduction, Mesopotamian political structure during the period under discussion was not based on kinship, and all references to tribal structures describe the familiar but essentially alien institutions of neighbouring (especially West-Semitic) societies and of small nomad groups of alien origin within the Mesopotamian population,⁽¹³⁶⁾ who were very quickly absorbed into the Mesopotamian political system. Such institutions were often described by means of Akkadian kinship terminology,⁽¹³⁷⁾ and occasionally by the use of foreign words.⁽¹³⁸⁾

There is some evidence that large land-owning lineage groups composed of a number of related households may have been quite common in Mesopotamian society before 2000 B.C. Indeed, the evidence of the Obelisk of Manistusu^v ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ suggests that a system of segmented lineage groups extending from household level to city level existed in the Old Akkadian period,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ reflecting a radically different political structure from the following Ur III period, with its highly centralised bureaucratic administration⁽¹⁴²⁾ which formed the pattern of later administrative systems.

The West Semitic dynasties of Hammurabi in Babylonia and ^vSamšī-Adad I in Assyria, while preserving elements of their tribal origins in their common genealogical traditions (which⁽¹⁴³⁾ are discussed in detail in Ch. VI), do not appear to have been accompanied by an influx of West Semitic people sufficient to affect the social structure of the countries they ruled.

In the period of the Kassite rulers of Babylonia evidence exists of corporate land-holding lineages of considerable size occupying areas of the Babylonian realm to the east of the Tigris.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ It is not clear how these clans were integrated into

the administrative system of the Kassite empire.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Some of the larger tribal territories corresponded to administrative provinces, staffed by the usual government officials. It is not certain whether these officials were directly answerable to the Babylonian central government and provided a check on the chief of the clan, or whether they were subordinate to him. A parallel may possibly be offered by the administrative system of Nuzi⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ (near Kirkuk) at the same period, where the "grand vassals", Tehiptilla, Wullu and others, with their families held large personal estates from the crown, as well as authority over provinces under a combination of prebendal and patrimonial domain.

It is possible that the political role of the MB tribal chieftains was the outcome of the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, and that many of them may have been of Kassite ancestry,

The 1st millenium saw the assimilation of new West Semitic elements, the Arameans, into Assyrian and Babylonian society, including a wholesale settlement of a group of Aramaean tribes, the Chaldaeans, in the southern marshlands of Babylonia where they flourished more or less independently for several centuries.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ There is, however, no certain evidence that their tribal structure affected the structure of Babylonian society during this period, even during the rule of the descendants of the Chaldaean chieftain, Nabopolassar, though there is a little evidence of a greater interest in descent during this period, and of ascription to a lineage in naming.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Nevertheless there is no evidence of large groups of men of the same lineage having corporate functions.

Notes

1. These are, of course, not the only roles of the household in a society. Economically, the short-term internal activity of a household is as a working group ensuring the livelihood of its members, with a greater or lesser degree of self-sufficiency. Socially, an important long-term function of the household in the wider social system is the socialisation of its members through transmission of the elements of culture. See especially the Introduction by Meyer Fortes to Jack Goody (Ed.), The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups, 1958.
2. Chambers's Dictionary has for "family" in addition to "household": "parents and their children": the children alone: the descendants of one common progenitor: race: honourable or noble descent". (Revised edition, 1964, p. 384) The Latin "familia" from which "family" is derived originally meant the property, particularly slaves, belonging to a household. (See H. F. Jolowicz, A Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law, 1952 p. 141 n.4.)
3. cf. the popular definition given by Turkish peasants of a "house" (ev, hane) as a group of people whose food is cooked in common. (Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, Ch. 5, "Household Economy", p. 35.) This basic economic unit is sometimes termed in anthropological parlance "the domestic family" or, even more non-committally, "the domestic group".
4. = persons linked through marriage.
5. See Introduction: Sources.
6. This term denotes the process by which kin-groups expand and contract in the course of time, through the natural processes of birth and death, the marriage of the younger members leading sooner or later to the splitting off of smaller groups, generally conjugal household (man, wife and children), which groups grow into larger groups until the process of fission is repeated. See especially J. Goody, Ed. op. cit. (n. 1).
7. Administrative lists of inhabitants or personnel for various purposes have survived from a number of different regions and times, but none gives detailed information about household structure, as do ADB and the MB ration list discussed

below, e.g. OB (outside Babylonia) Mari: see M. Birot, "Un recensement de femmes au royaume de Mari", in Syria 35 (1958) 9 ff, which is considered by Birot to be part of a universal census, now lost; Alalakh: D. J. Wiseman, AT No. 185 (listing numbers of houses in villages); MA: Afo 10 pp. 42-43, No. 100 (list of women constituting the royal harem); NA: Bi (JCS 7 111 ff.) No. 69 (list of town headmen, (lú) hazanāte (pl.) to be kept in custody); Nos. 72-77 (lists of individuals as substitutes [kūmu] others); No. 83 (list of individuals with their cities of origin); No. 85 (census of craftsmen); Nos. 86-90 (list of occupiers of farms)

8. Published by C. H. W. Johns in 1909 under the title, An Assyrian Doomsday Book or Liber Censualis of the District round Harran in the Seventh Century B.C. (AB 17). An up-to-date edition of these texts is long overdue.

9. Consisting of 22 tablets, reconstructed from fragments in the B.M. For museum signatures of tablets see Johns, op. cit. p. 5f.

10. e.g. VTE 275-278: ti-din-tu a . š à . m e š é . m e š g i š . SAR . m e š u k ù . m e š ú-nu-tu a n š e . k u r . r a . m e š a n [š e . g ì r . n u n . n a . m e š] a n š e . m e š g u d . m e š u d u . m e š sa (m) Aššur - p a b . a š XX (kur) Aššur a-<na> d u m u . m e š - š ú id-din-u-ni, "any gift of fields, houses, orchards, people, moveables, horses, mules, asses^{oxen}, sheep, which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, may have given to his sons"; Asb. Annals iii 76: u r u . m e š a . š à . m e š g i š . SAR . m e š u k ù . m e š a-šib lāb-bi-šú-un, "settlements, fields, orchards (and) the people dwelling in them" (among the property given by Aššurbanipal to his brother, Šamaš-šuma-ukin); ADD 807 (Aru 20)r. 23-24: p a b - ma a . š à . m e š é . m e š u k ù . m e š (m) Aššur (-šur) etil-ilāni (pl) ú-zak-ki-ma, "Fields, houses, people (king) Aššur-etil-ilāni has exempted (from services)" (cf. also ADD 661 [Aru 22] 22-24). A MB documents (RA 16 124 ff, Pl. 16) records a comparable grant of land and houses together with a family of six people (see F. X. Steinmetz, Kudurru, No. 65, pp. 74-5).

11. e.g. ADD 443 (Aru 97)1-2: (m)G . e n a . š à u k ù .

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meš mušen . meš sum (tadān)-an, "G, owner of the land, people (and) birds to be sold"; ADD 431 (Aru 98) 1-2: [(m) x] dumu (m)M . en [a . š a . meš é .] meš giš . SAR . meš ukū . meš ta-da-ni ;
 ADD 472 (Aru 101) 3-5 (u ru . š e) PN . a-na gi-mir-ti-šú [a - di] a . š a . meš - šú a-di giš . SAR . meš - šú [a-di u k ū] . meš - šú, "The farmstead of PN in its entirety, including its fields, its orchards, (and) its people".
 For discussions of this aspect of NA economy, see Johns, op. cit. 24f; Mandelsohn, Slavery, pp. 110-111.

12. verēšu "to plant, cultivate". At all periods errēšu refers to a farmer who is not the outright owner of the land he works.

13. Cultivator of a kīrū (Sumerogram giš . SAR), a garden of trees, especially fruit trees.

14. e.g. (errēšu) ADD 160 4, r. 3,4; 294 r. 3,4,5; 278 r. 4,6; 420. 4; 429. 27,29; 471 8,10 & passim (nukaribbu)
 ADD 182 2,4; 235 3; 360 r. 9; 366 2; 452 2; 427 8, & passim.

15. This information is not consistently provided by all the tablets. The indications are given by height: 3, 4 or 5 (rutu), or by the terms ga = šā šizbi "unweaned(infant)" (lit. "he-of-the-milk"), pirsu (written UD) "weaned infant" and ba-tu-su "adolescent girl" (i.e. Bab. batultu Ass. batussu). Johns (op. cit. p. 6) interprets these signs as indications of the kind of service due to the king, but the correct interpretation is made clear by contemporary documents, e.g. ADD 1099 2-7:38 TUR. MEŠ 5 ru-tí 41 TUR . MEŠ 4 ru-tí 40 TUR . MEŠ 3 ru-tí 28 TUR pir-si 25 TUR ša ga pa b 172 LÚ . TUR . MEŠ, etc; and frequently in sales of slaves, e.g. ND 3426 (Iraq 15 (1953) Pl. 12 & p. 141) 4: PN.TUR ša 3 ru-tu.

16. 21 cases as against 34 where only one SAL is listed in the sample used, (see below).

17. Table I, No. 62 1. 4.

18. This would appear probable in the case of No. 13, a three-generation household, but in some cases several "wives" are listed where there are no sons, e.g. Nos. 6; 26; 44,

P. 16. For a discussion of the possible interpretations of

SAL . MES^V in these contexts, see Johns, op. cit. pp. 25f.

19. See Table I. For the ADB sample, several entries of uncertain reconstruction which are, nevertheless, listed by Johns in his table of "Family statistics" (op. cit. pp. 26-29) are here omitted. The numeration used in Tables I-V is that of the present author.

20. See Table II.

21. Nos. 3 (man); 18 (man); 27 (woman); 45 (woman) 52 (man).

22. Whose wives have presumably either died or run away.

23. Additional data is provided by the document ABL 212, in which eight families are listed (l. 4) as u k ũ . m e s̄^V s̄a^V (M) Ha-za-nu. It is not certain, however, that these are adscripts. The relationships are reasonably clear for seven of the families (the eighth, ll. 18-19, consists of two men, one son and two "wives", "a total of 5", and it is not made clear whether the two men are brothers). The sample consists of two "nuclear" households, two "nuclear" households plus brother of head, two heads with wife or wives plus brother, and one household (?) consisting of two girls (d u m u . SAL . m e s̄^V), perhaps orphans, giving an average size of $\frac{30}{7} = 4.29$ persons per household. cf. also ADD 891, where four households are listed, consisting of two married couples, one man on his own and a family of seven, consisting of man, wife, son and four daughters.

24. "Nuclear" is a convenient term widely used to describe such households, also known as "elementary" or "simple", though all three terms are inappropriate in that they imply that such units are the basic kinship group, which, so far as domestic patterns are concerned, is not universally true. Although the use of these terms has been questioned by anthropologists, the present author has chosen to retain the term "nuclear", since it would seem pedantic in a study of this kind to abandon such a well-established usage.

25. Table I, No. 13. This type of household is sometimes known as the "patrilineal grand-family".

26. e.g. in Turkey, where the "joint" household of three generations or of brothers is the ideal, but in fact only a quarter of the households in the villages studied by P. Stirling (Turkish Village, 1965) fell into this pattern. Stirling has pointed out (p. 40) that the effect of the developmental cycle alone determines that half the households in such a society will be at the "pre-joint" stage. The same disparity between ideal and actual structure may be observed in traditional Chinese and Indian society. See M. Freedman, Lineage Organization in S.E. China, 1965, Ch. 3 (pp. 19-32); S. C. Dube, Indian Village, 1955, p. 133.

27. Note that the average size of rural Turkish households studied by Stirling, op. cit. pp. 37-41 and of rural Chinese households studied by Freedman, loc. cit., was 6, considerably greater than the NA average.

28. See 2:2:3; Ch. II 1:2.

29. e.g. China. See Freedman, op. cit. p. 20. Note that the Ur III document NSG47: 15-21 expressly stipulates that the sons are not to divide the inheritance during their mother's lifetime.

30. See below n. 89.

31. op. cit. p. 26

32. See No. 5, H. 26-28 p a b 24 (uru) Gam-bu-la-a-a p a b sa e-ma a-ka-sar-u-ni, "total of 24 of the city of the Gambuleans, total of those whom I settled there". See discussion Johns, ADB p. 55; No. 6 H 4 has p a b hu-ub-te (kur) Gam-bu-li, "total of the captives of Gambuli". See p. 59.

33. On the ecological conditions favouring nuclear and joint households respectively in peasant societies see especially Eric. R. Wolf, Peasants, Foundations of Modern Anthropology Series (Ed. Marshall D. Sahlins), 1966. For suggestions about ecological factors affecting ancient Assyrian economic and social structure, see A. L. Oppenheim, "A Bird's-Eye View of Mesopotamian Economic History", in Polanyi (Karl) and Others: Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Economics in History and Theory, pp. 26-37.

34. $\frac{104}{26} = 4$. This average is swelled by the inclusion:

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of a family of eleven persons (Table IV, No. 1) consisting of man, wife, five children, plus the man's brother and his three sons. Whether this group was considered in any sense to constitute a single "family" or "household" is impossible to determine. If this family is omitted, the average falls to 3.72, which is below the average for adscripts.

35. Counting the group discussed in the previous note as two households and excluding the stepchildren in (21), the average number of children per household in the households which had children was $\frac{41}{15} = 2.7$, as compared with 1.98 and 2.27 for adscript households.

36. Other possible factors might be the economic value to their master of offspring of slaves (see Ch. III Below, pp. 132f. below), and the lack of responsibility of slaves for the livelihood of their children.

37. e.g. especially the group mentioned in N. 34 above, but cf. also 2;4;13;19;23.

38. Other enumerations of members of households in straitened circumstances may be mentioned here in addition, e.g. KAV 39 lists 8 NA households of (lú) ga-tin-ú-te ("people of reduced circumstances"?) from the city of Arba'ilu, given to the temple of Zababa (l. 13). Average size of household is 4.5 persons. Seven nuclear families plus one motherless family. Average number of children: 3. Male children exceed female in the ratio 4:3. The list adds 5 individuals (ll. 9-11) who are alone (a.š - man-nu, read ēdumānu, L.11). A family of man, wife and daughter is enumerated in Aru 656 (ADD 85) as "redeemed" from debt bondage (hubullu, L.2) to one master in order to enter into the same relation to their redeemer.

39. For some of the heads of household occupations are given, e.g. L. 5: d ug (lābinu), "brickmaker"; L.19: u š b a r (išparu), "weaver"; L.34: m á š . ŠI.LUM (= bārū?) "divination expert"; L.39 l ú . š e m (muraqqū), "perfumier".

40. e.g. BE 14 58 41.

41. e.g. ADB 3 H 8; 6 I 7.

42. e.g. CH 16;17;20;39;51; LE 50 3f; Ugnad, BB 69.8; 193:8; 238:56,64; RA 28 37 5:1 (Nuzi); RA 11 167 r. 11; TCL 13 160 13 (NB); ABL 767 r. 1 (NA).

43. See below, Appendix: 3, pp. 305-10.

44. See Table V.

45. At least in the NA period, d u m u . SAL = mārtu could mean "girl", as distinct from SAL = sinnistu, "wife", "woman", the underlying assumption being that a female who was not subordinate to a husband would of necessity be subordinate to a father. The meaning is demonstrated by ABL 212 19-20, where the two d u m u . SAL . m e š are apparently orphans. See above, n. 23. cf. dumu = "boy" in ADD 186 (Aru 476), where (m) I. is described (LL. 1-2) as e n d u m u ta-da-a-ni "owner of the boy being sold", who is in fact his slave (L.3). See also LL. 7-8 d u m u su-a-tu sa-rip k i (laqi) "that boy is bought and received"; cf. ADD 315 L.6 (Aru 502 L.8): SAL . d u m u su-a-tu sar-pat la-qi-at. It is, however, conceivable that the writings TUR and TUR . SAL in these contexts conceal Akkadian terms other than māru and mārtu. The distinction between "girl" and "daughter", "son" and "boy", "wife" and "woman", did not need to be drawn clearly in administrative texts such as BE 14 58, since the important categories were those of age-group and sex, for the purposes of allotting work and rations.

46. CAD 4 p. 408a makes the same interpretation, but does not offer a translation (under etlu).

47. g u r u š (= Akk. etlu) implies physical maturity. On the original meaning in ED economic texts, see T. Jacobsen, JNES 12 (1953) p. 180.

48. harrānu(m) = "route, journey, expedition, caravan". It is used in OB sources of royal expedition (harrān šarri), possibly referring to a military campaign, service in which was apparently an obligation of certain holders of crown land, e.g. CH 26:68; 32:15; 33:43; BIN 2 76 7; 81,3.

49. Where the estate is shared with a father's brother, e.g. UAZP 192.

50. e.g. UAZP 193.

51. e.g. HG Nos. 49;76; UAZP 182.

52. e.g. UAZP 183; 184; 186; 187; 188; 190; 196; (OA) ARK 9; ARK 11

where three brothers and a sister renounce all claim to a debt owed to their father; ARK 245, where two brothers and a sister inherit their father's debt. Most of these examples are cases where the daughter is attached to the temple in a special capacity, most usually as a duk u r = Akk. nadītu. See Ch. II 1:2:3 below. cf. also the OB document UAZP 22, where 5 brothers and a sister are adopted as heirs.

53. e.g. for most generations of the NB Egibi archive (see A. Ungnad, AfO 14 [1941] 57-64) only sons are known from the sources. The number of sons attested in the material collected by Ungnad is 41, the number of daughters 11. The archives of the LB Murašû family do not enable the relationships to be reconstructed in any detail (see the genealogy Cardascia, AM p. 9). cf. also the NA ration lists, giving the names of Esarhaddon's children, published AfO 13 (1940) p. 214: 6 sons and 1 daughter, Šenna-eterat (on whose role see Ch. II 2:2). The eldest son, Sin-nadin-apli, died young.

54. e.g. (MA) KAJ 51 in which the wife of Melizah, of the family of Adad-Šar-ilani, is lender of one talent of lead. On the Mesopotamian business-woman see A. Falkenstein, NSGU I p. 81; F. Kinnal, Belleten 20 (1956) 367; B. Meissner BA p. 388.

55. Especially in the OA period, e.g. ARK 202; 205; 245. Very rare in the NA period.

56. e.g. Cyr 161 40-41.

57. See Fine, RA 46 206-7. The sources are KAJ 6; 21; 25; 28; 58; 70; 154.

58. KAJ 1.

59. The articulation of the desire for offspring is discussed at length in Ch. III 1.

60. e.g. Alu 22b (N 110f; CT 38 33) 13, and especially the omens based on symptoms shown by pregnant women collected in the medical series TDP, Tablet 35 (= Subseries E, Tablet 1), prognosticating the death of the mother (LL: 77,82,112), the child (LL. 4,16-18,21,38,86-9,104), or both (L. 83), as well as many references to miscarriage or to illness during pregnancy. Tablet 40 of the same series is devoted entirely to various ailments of infants (122 lines). The dangers besetting women

in childbirth were personified in the demoness Lamaštu, against whom women were protected by prophylactic amulets. See F. Thureau-Dangin, "Rituel et amulettes contre Labartu", in RA 18 (1921) 162-198; O. R. Gurney, "Babylonian prophylactic figures and their ritual", in AAA 22 (1935) 31-96; K. Frank, "Lamaštu, Pazuzu und andere Dämonen", in MAOG 14/2 (1941). The omen series Alu (F. Nötscher, Or 31, 39-42, 51-54, 1928-1930) contains frequent predictions of the death of household members, especially the head (e.g. 5 45; 20 3; 18; 19b 30; Misc. 48, 51; b) 47; etc. cf. also 20 29 referring to premature death, and 35 (KAR 376) 42: e n é ú š é b i al-ma-nu-tam d u-ak, "The head of the household will die (and) that house will be without male support". cf. references to the destruction or dissolution of the "house" (bītu) on the death of the head or other members; e.g. KAR 376 (Alu 35) 34: e n é b i ú š-ma é b i b i r (issapah), "the head of that household will die and that household will be broken up"; 25: d a m l ú b a . ú š é b i b i r, "The wife of the man will die and that household will be broken up".

61. e.g. Sin-aphe-eriba, "Sin-has-replaced-the-brothers" (APN 196b-198a, royal name); Ahum-waqar "The-brother-has-passed-away" ("is precious") (ANG p.295) RPN p.63; Ali-ahati "where-is-my-sister?" (ANG p.285), etc.

62. e.g. YOS 10, No. 44, L.70 (OB): a-wi-lum a-wi-lu-tam i-la-ak (?) ma-ar ma-ri-šú i-ma-a-ar, "the man (in question) will achieve distinction" (or "will reach a mature age (?)") - CAD 1/2 p.62b), "he will see his grandson(s)"; ABL 406 r.12 d u m u . d u m u . m e š . š ú (glossed mar-mar-i-šú) l u g a l be-lí i-na bur-ki-šú li-in-tu-uh, "May the king, my lord rest (?) his grandsons on his knees"; (Similar ABL 453 15-16) ABL 6 r.4-7: a-na t i . l a z i . m e š š a l u g a l be-lí-ia nu-sa-al-la l u g a l be-lí a-na d u m u . d u m u . m e š -ni lu-par-šī-im, "We shall continue to pray for the life of the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, grow old into (the time of) our grandsons"; ABL 358 r.13-14: a n a d u m u . m e š -ia (!) l u g a l be-lí ki-i an-ni-ma te-mu lis-kun l u g a l be-lí d u m u . d u m u . m e š -šú-nu lu-par-šī-im, "May the king, my lord, give command likewise to my sons, (and) may the king, my lord, grow old into the time of their grandsons".

63. See ABL 1239. References occur in contracts to grand-fathers of adults still active in business transactions, e.g. TCL 13 223 13-14; Nbn 499 4.

64. See Oppenheim (A. L.) "Siege Documents from Nippur" in Iraq 17 (1955) 69-89, for discussion and references. Oppenheim argues that the sale by parents of their children was permitted by Mesopotamian society only under very extreme conditions (e.g. severe famine), but evidence exists for other periods of sales where such conditions are at least not explicitly mentioned, e.g. (OB) RTC 17 35; HG 1646; YOS 8 8; NSG 35;36;170;53; ITT II 4578 (Mendelsohn, Slavery 7), CT 8 22b; (NA) ADD 201;317;208;314 (Aru 38-40); (42); (~~43~~) (~~43~~); (LB) Nbk 70; see also B. J. Siegel, Slavery, 13ff. See also for comparative material I. Mendelsohn, "The Conditional Sale into Slavery of Free-born Daughters in Nuzi and the Law of Exodus 21:7-11". JAOS 55 (1935) 190-195.

65. e.g. a.i. (MSL I) III iii 32-37 lists stock phrases for adopted infants who had been found abandoned; cf. also UAZP 10 and 22 in which no parents' names are given for the children adopted. cf. Nbk 439 3f. See M. David, Adoption, p. 15f., for further references. The exposure of infants is, of course, a common motif in folk-tales about the origin of great men, (e.g. Sargon of Akkad; see Legend of Sargon CT 46 46, King CCEBK pp. 87ff). For a study of the motif in Mesopotamian and neighbouring cultures see D. B. Redford, "The Literary Motif of the Exposed Child" in Numen 14 (1967) 209-228.

66. The main publications are: G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws, 1955; The Assyrian Laws, 1935; A. Goetze, The Laws of Eshunna (AASOR 31), 1956. The law collections are not exhaustive law codes in the modern sense, but probably rather collections of legal decisions illustrating royal justice. It is, therefore, often impossible to decide whether a case mentioned in such texts is typical or exceptional.

67. See below, Ch. II.

68. = Akk bēl bīti, e.g. Alu I (CT 38 13) 91 and passim Alu & Izbu (see above, n.60). The same term is used for the head of a tribe or clan. A term hammu (fem. hamnatu), meaning "head of household" is rare, occurring only in religious contexts and personal names, as part of the "Hymnic-Epic Dialect"

(see ZA 41 p.164, where Von Soden translates it tentatively "Gatte". In Hwb I p.317b he translates it "Familienoberhaupt", which is in agreement with the translation of CAD 6 p.69f.); bēlet bitī "mistress of the household" occurs also occasionally, e.g. LSS 1/1 p.48 8; CT 38 13 91; for bēlet bitī = wife of the crown prince, NA, see ABL 308 r.5: ù at-ti ma-rat kal-lat g a š a n é ša (m) Aššur . d ù . a (addressed to Aššur-šarrat by her sister-in-law), "but you are daughter and daughter-in-law (of Esarhaddon), mistress of the household of Aššurbanipal".

69. It was thought best to avoid the use of the term "patriarchal" as the usage may be felt to imply a political system in which all powers, including judicial power, over the members of a household are invested in the head, who is in effect the ruler of the household. Vestiges of such a system may perhaps be preserved in the ED application of the Sum. term l u g a l (originally l ú . g a l = "big man, headman") to landowners as well as to military rulers of cities and states, e.g. in the Tablet of Enḫegal and the Black Stone of Lummatur. cf. T. Jacobsen, ZA 52 (1957) 91-140. On the social significance of Sum. l ú, see Jacobsen, JNES 12 (1953) p.180.

70. e.g. (OB) V.S 8 26; HG 14 74; cf. CH 114-116 and 117-119; (Alalah) AT p.3; (OA) ARK 14;15;67;188; (MB) Peiser, UDBD 16 116; (MA) Aru 39;13;14;24;26;48;60;66;70; MAL A 39; 48; cf. pp.271-284; Nuzi III 295;299; (NB) BE 14 135; Nbn 655; Nbk 366; (NA) ADD 85,86 (Aru 656; 43); cf. NA contracts in which one of the penalties for breach is the sacrifice of the firstborn son or daughter, e.g. ADD 310, (Aru 158), ADD 436 (Aru 163), ADD 474 (Aru 96a). See also the references to sales of offspring in 2:1 above.

71. See ARK Nos. 159-164. cf. the O.B. contract of hire of services of a son from his parents, YOS 12 253.

72. e.g. MAL.A 14-16; 22-24; 37-8; 59.

73. e.g. MAL.A 43 34; Aru 37 7; cf. 45 5 where the bēl amēli are the brothers of the mother of the illegitimate child dedicated to Ninurta. cf. CH 129: 50;166;68: bēl aššati of the husband or prospective husband of a woman. Naturally the father normally decided who would marry his daughter and often chose the wife for his son; see 2:2:2 below.

74. There is insufficient evidence to show variations in the extent of these powers according to social and economic status. I. Mendelsohn suggests (BA 11/2 p.24) that there is a correlation between patria potestas in the Near East and political weakness of the central government.

On the role of the father attested by the early Babylonian law codes, (LE and CL), see J. Klíma, "The Patria Potestas in the Light of Newly Discovered Pre-Hammurabian Sources of Law", in JJP 4 (1950) 275-88. For extended uses of the term abu(m) illustrative of the father's authoritarian role, see Appendix:1.

75. Two different aspects of the role of the father are illustrated by Levy KTH 17 16 abī atta bēlī atta "you are my lord, you are my father", and AFO 19 p.55 L.10: Ki-i a-bi re-[mu]-uk, "Your mercy is like (that of) a father". See ZA 4 (1939) pp. 244 and 251.

76. Important works on the subject have included:

D. H. Müller, "Zur Terminologie im Eherecht bei Hammurabi", in WZKM 19 (1905) 382-388; N. Schneider, Ehe und Familie; V. Korošec, Or 6 1937 1ff; Ebeling and Meissner, RLA II (1938) pp. 281-299; Ehe, pp. 299-301, Ehebruch; A. van Praag, Droit matrimonial; J. Klíma, (NO 20) 20 (1966) 99-103.

The main point at issue among these scholars has been whether Assyrian and Babylonian marriage was in the nature of a sale. For a summary of the arguments see Haase, Einführung, pp. 57-66; also BabL I 259-265; AssL 142-160.

77. See especially for the ethnographic background, W. H. Goodenough, "Residence Rules", in SWJA 12/1 (1956) 22-37.

78. e.g. economic factors such as size of house, amount of land available for livelihood; internal domestic factors, such as number of other sons and daughters, and personal factors such as tensions between different generations, between siblings or siblings' spouses, etc.

79. Or (more usually) known as "matrilocal" from the point of view of the children of the marriage, who in such a system are brought up among their matrilineal kin. The term "uxorilocal marriage" is used in preference here because it does not necessarily suggest a system of matrilineal descent.

80. Known as "matrilineal" inheritance.

81. Wedding expenses texts are known from other periods, e.g. (NA) ND 2307 (Iraq 16 pp.37-38); 2310-12 (Iraq 23 pp.20-21); Iraq 11, p.145 No. 5; (Alalakh) AT 378;409;411. cf. CAD Vol. 21 p.163; J. Lewy in ArOr 18/3 (1950) 375 n.49. The Kirrum ceremony ("libation") mentioned in line 33 is also mentioned, in LE 27 32 and 28 34-5, as essential to a marriage, and in CT 4 18b as part of the initiation ceremony of a nadītu of Sippar. For other evidence bearing on marriage rites, see J. J. Finkelstein, RA 61/2 (1967) 127-136.

82. The large quantity of food supplied during this period suggests that a number of people stayed, amounting to about half the number entertained while the ceremonies were in progress.

83. L.46 ru₄.lum-ti it-ru-ú-ši "when they led her away".

84. RA 61 132 n.1.

85. The bridegroom's father is not mentioned in this text. In line 29 the mother of the groom is recorded as having performed a rite of "release" (ip-^vsu-ur-ma), His brother is mentioned in L.17. Possibly his father was dead or infirm.

86. The attachment to the land necessitated by the agricultural economy must have severely limited the geographical mobility of the majority of the population.

87. cf. the Akk. term hatanu, hatnu which occurs, though rarely, from the OB period (mainly in foreign dialects of Akkadian and possibly a WS loan-word), meaning any relative by marriage. See Appendix:2. The noun hatnūtu means "marriage alliance", e.g. BASOR 94,23.24. The alliance element was, of course, always of paramount importance in royal marriages e.g. (NA) Winckler, Sargon LL.171-172; (OB) ARM 6 26 5'-6'; EA 2: 6-9, 17: 24-29, and is also evident in marriages between the great LB business houses (see A. Ungnad, AfO 14 57-64). Note also for Alalakh the marriage between a divination priest and the daughter of a priest of I^vstar, AT 378. There is little evidence of the extent to which married women kept up contacts with their own kin. Visiting between mothers and married daughters may well have been common. A recurring theme of the type of literature known as "Fluchzeitschilderung" (depictions of times of disaster) is that of mothers refusing to open the door to their daughters. See Oppenheim, Iraq 17 p.78f.

88. Little is known about factors governing the choice of a marriage partner, such as status, geographical proximity, prescribed or proscribed marriage between kin. Marriages between patrilineal cousins took place in the LB period within business houses, clearly in order to concentrate the family resources. As in all societies, sexual relations among close kin (parents and offspring, siblings) were taboo (e.g. CH 154; Dreams pp.227-8 L.86), but the extent of the prohibition is not known, (see also Appendix under rabitum). Royal marriages between brother and sister were apparently unknown in Babylonia and Assyria, although they occurred in the Achaemenid royal family and were seemingly permitted among the Hittites, (see O. R. Gurney, The Hittites, p.102).

89. Or elder brother in the absence of a father, e.g. CH 166; BM 80754 (RA 61 p.127f.); NSGU 18 (discussed RA 61 p.129). See n.84 where the mother of the bridegroom is active in the ceremony. The brother mentioned in L.17 may have been a minor. Sometimes the father and mother of the bridegroom act jointly, e.g. UAZP 3.

90. e.g. CH 155; 156; 166.

91. e.g. MAL A 33.

92. MAL A 30.

93. MAL A 43.

94. See discussions A. R. Kraus JCS 3 166ff; AssL pp.161-166; 176-8; 227-9; 248; P. Koschaker, ZA 41 20-22. Most examples of the institution in practice come from Nuzi near Kirkuk (ancient Arrapha), where it seems to have been particularly common. Similar customs existed in modern Palestine. See Granquist, "Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village", (1935) pp.49-54.

95. cf. CH 156.

96. kallatu = "bride" or "daughter-in-law" i.e. a woman brought into a household by marriage, cf. hatanu (n.87 above). Note in particular the special role of the crown prince's wife in Assyria, e.g. Sannuramat describes herself as kallatu (kal (?) - lat) of Shalmaneser III in her stele published by Andrae, Stelenreihen No. 5 L.6; (Aššur-šarrat, daughter-in-law of Esarhaddon), ABL 308 r.5; ARU 14 L.3, a votive inscription of

Zakutu, wife of Sennacherib, who describes herself as kal-lat (m) L u g a l . g i n. Compare (m) Su-sa-an-qu ha-at-na XX "son-in-law of the king", a witness to the document Aru 36 (L.25). See also the role of the kallatu in the Assyrian royal funeral ritual, BA II p.635 LL.4-6, where she has to wash and kiss the dead king's feet and wail. For the non-royal kallatu, see in particular the confirmation of a dowry to a sister in BBS 9 i 27-28: FPN d a m-su ša PN kal-lat-i-su ša PN₂ d u m u PN₃; and the omen Alu 20 K 7749 7 (Boissier Choix I p.3-7) "the kallatu of the house will die". The OB lawsuit PBS 5 100 is very revealing of the role of a mother-in-law during the pregnancy and labour of her son's widow, (i 7-11, and especially ii 18: e-me-iz-za iz-zu-ur-ši "her mother-in-law watched over her"). Kallatu is also used of relationships between deities, e.g. BMS 33 7 (Tašmetum); Iraq 19 133b 18; KAR 38 r.23 (Ištar).

97. There are, however, other conceivable explanations. In the MA documents, allowing for the limitations of the material available for comparison, a slight tendency is perhaps discernible for grandfather's names to be given for sellers, debtors and witnesses, less so for "capitalists" (buyers, creditors), though it must be remembered that there are fewer examples of the latter category for comparison. In some cases at least, the use of the grandfather's name may have been an additional means of identification, to be compared with indications of occupation and place of residence or origin, often used in addition to or instead of patronyms in texts of this period and others. It is possible, therefore, that sellers and debtors, perhaps predominantly small farmers and sharecroppers from rural areas, would require closer identification than the urban financiers, who presumably were well-known. It is possible also that in some cases the name given after the patronym is that of a more remote ascendant than the grandfather, but in cases where the relationship can be checked in the MA documents it is found that the father's father is in fact referred to.

98. See ARU passim.

99. Such references do occur occasionally, e.g. (NA) ABL 877 passim (possibly, however, more remote ancestors intended); (Sel.) VS 15 24 8;12;24 etc. See Ch. VIIp260.

100. P. Koschaker (NKRA p.111 n.2) suggests that the large

numbers of harvesters that certain debtors undertake to supply in MA documents may have been recruited from the kin of the debtor, indicating effective kinship relations over a wide range. There is no evidence of the range of kin involved in blood-guilt and revenge, for which there is MA and NA evidence, (e.g. MAL B 2; ADD 618; VTE 256-259; ADD 23; ADD 321; ABL 753).

101. The expression é-su (written ba [!]) i-pu-uš; "he (the adoptive father) has built his (the adopted son's) house" in CH 191 80 may refer to some such provision, but the meaning is not entirely clear from the context. See Appendix:3 on bītu.

102. See Ch. II 1:2.

103. This would, of course, be possible only where the resources were available. Note that in ADB no head of household is listed as owning more than one house, whereas quite a number of houses are occupied by more than one household. For variations in the process of household fission, often in practice a gradual process, see for China Freedman op. cit., pp. 25,27.

104. e.g. CH 178-9 (nadītum); BBS 9 i 15-18, where, however, the land appears to have become eventually the property of the bridegroom's father (see below n.147); MDP 10 p.87 (royal dowry); Cabinet de Médailles 702= Cuq, Études, p.94; IR 70 1-22. A number of dowries in NB documents (where the term used is nudunnu) include land, e.g. Camb. 215; Nbk 251; Nbn 65; probably also Nbk 283. (See K. Tallqvist, Schenkungsbriefe, pp.3-15.)

105. e.g. A 25-27;32;33;36;38. Parallels from the Ur III period are afforded by NSGU 18 5-10; 167 10-12.

106. e.g. Jud. 14:1-15:8 (Samson); 8:30-31 and 9:1-3,(Gideon).

107. See W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, 1885, pp. 69;71;106;156.

108. AssL. p.139.

109. Ibid. pp. 140-142.

110. Ibid. p.140.

111. Most likely economic, e.g. amount of female labour available in both households.

112. A 35 (col. iv, LL.75-81): šum-ma (f) al-ma-at-tu a-na é
l ú te-ta-ra-ab mi-im-ma am-mar na-sa-tu-ú-ni gab-bu ša-a
mu-ti-ša ù šum-ma l ú a-na m u h SĀL e-ta-rab mi-im-ma
am-mar na-as-su-ú-ni gab-bu ša-a SAL. "If a widow enters a
man's house, all that she brings (with her becomes) her
husband's; or, if the man enters into (the house of) the
woman, all that he brings (with him becomes) the woman's."

113. Never more than one.

114. e.g. 167;170;171, which simply describe the division as
taking place "after the natural death of the father" (warkā(num)
abum ana šimtim ittalku).

115. e.g. UAZP 197; HG 1096. In some cases the father himself
made the division, e.g. HG 1047 ; 1425; 1437; 1444. cf. for
OB Elam MDP 31 16 (ArOr 1960 p.33). That special circumstances
(incapacity of the father to manage the land?) precipitated
premature partition in these cases is suggested by the omen
literature, which treats the division of an inheritance in
the father's lifetime as an extraordinary occurrence, e.g.
YOS 10 41;34; CT 39 35 44.

116. To ornaments (dumāqi) given her by her husband.

117. d u m u l ú la zi-zu ù s a g . a r a d ú-ul iq-qí-a-ap
"A free man, who is a coparcener, or a slave may not borrow
on security", (see A. Goetze, LE, pp.58-9 on meaning of iqqiap).
It is possible, however, that d u m u l ú (Akk. mār awīlim)
means here literally "a man's son" (implying that the father
is still alive and therefore the inheritance is not divided),
not "a man of freeborn status", (see below, Ch. VI 2:3. .

118. See 2:2:2 above, p.43 and n.163.

119. e.g. birth of children, marriage of youngest brother or
sister, death of mother, tensions between brothers' wives, or
a combination of these factors.

120. ADB No. 2 H 15-17: PN a PN₂ l ú . s i p a a n š e . a
[a b . b a] (m) Ba-ni-i p a b -šú; No. 4 E 8-9 (m) I. l ú . ; i n

1 p a b -[✓]su. In Aru 123 the brothers are listed last of the household members.

121. In some cases this is illustrated by the references to adjacent holdings in the description of the location of plots of land, e.g. UAZP 179-80 (two brothers adjacent); 183 (brother and sister); 187 (two brothers); 191 (four brothers); 192 (paternal uncle and nephew); 194 (brother, sister and nephew).

122. e.g. UAZP 189, L.16: a-tap-pu-um [✓]ša bi-ri-[✓]su-nu-ma "the irrigation canal is their common property". cf. also UAZP 186 14; 188 18-21, in both of which brothers agree to share the property of their sister, a nadītum, in common.

123. e.g. (OA) ARK 62;65;93;130;206;216;245;257 and passim; (OB) LB 1049; (NA) Aru 67;120;55;437;112 and passim. Fathers and sons, of course, also often co-operated in business matters, e.g. ARK 216;221; Aru 37.

124. Polyandrous marriage (more than one husband) is never attested for the period under discussion (though a possible reference occurs in the ED period in the Laws of Urukagina).

125. e.g. CH 167; 173; NB Laws 8 13; Aru 103 (see p. 22 and Table 2 above); MAL A 45;46. The terminology is mutu/ [✓]aššatu pānu/[✓]-itu, mārū mahrūtu "first husband/ wife/children", mutu / [✓]aššatu arkū ([✓]-itu), mārū arkūtu "later husband/wife/children".

126. murabbiāni[✓]su. See Glossary under ālidu, murabbiū.

127. e.g. CH 144;146-7; ND 2307 (Iraq 16 37-38). Compare Gen. 16:2-4; 30:3-5.

128. This depended entirely upon whether the father had legitimated the slavegirl's sons during his lifetime. The MA rule (MAL A 41) was that sons of concubines inherited only if the main ("veiled") wife was barren. On (OA) amtum ("slave-girl") = "temporary wife" (of an Assyrian merchant resident abroad), see HUCA 27 (1956) 3-10, J. Lewy.

129. e.g. CH 145;148-9. cf. NSGU 26 2-8.

130. The laws of Eshnunna expressly forbade the taking of a second wife if the first had borne sons. The culprit forfeited his property and hence his independence, (LE 59). Marriage contracts from Babylonia and adjacent regions often regulate

this question.

131. e.g. UAZP 4 and 5, regulating the position of two wives taken by one man a-na aš-šū-tim ū mu-tu-tim (4 LL.4-5) and laying down certain menial tasks to be performed by one wife for the other, including washing her feet. BIN 7 173 shows that the co-wife was obtained by the main wife, who paid the bride-money (tirḫatum) to her parents for her (LL.8-11) and gave her to her husband (LL.12-13). L.7 describes the relationship between the two wives as "sisterhood" or "equality" (at-ḫu-tim). The special significance of the status of aššatu is illustrated for the OB period by CH 128, which states that a wife whose husband has not drawn up a contract for her is not a wife (ū-ul aš-ša-at, L.41) and for the MA period by MAL A 41 which states that a concubine (esirtu) is a wife (d a m = aššatu) only if she has been veiled by her husband; c.f. also KAJ 7 8-9: i-na a-mu-ut-ti-ša uz-zak-ki-ši a-na aš-šū-ut-ti-šu il-ta-ka-an "He has freed her from her status of amtu (slave) and given her the status of his wife".

132. See Weidner, AfO 17 (1954) 257ff. Royal households and the households of government officials naturally included a large number of unrelated persons. Certain NA evidence suggests that boys of good family were brought up in the king's household as "pages", e.g. OIP II p.57, L.13; ABL 499 6-8. Female relatives of foreign rulers were sometimes deported by NA kings to act as female stewards at the Assyrian court (ana epēš abrakḫūti), e.g. Asb. Annals ii 57,66,71.

133. As were, for instance, the economies of ancient Greece and Rome. See M. I. Finley (Ed.) Slavery in Classical Antiquity, (1964).

134. See I. Mendelsohn, Slavery in the Ancient Near East, pp. 119-120.

135. e.g. OB Mari, documented by the Mari letters; references in NA royal inscriptions and letters to Aramaean tribes, etc.

136. See in general J.-R. Kupper, Les Nomades en Mesopotamie au temps des rois de Mari, (1957); S. Moscati, The Semites in Ancient History (1959).

137. e.g. bītu ("house") = "tribe"; qinnu ("family") = subdivision of tribes; abu ("father") = "ancestor"; māru ("son") =

"descendant"; abu ("brother") = "kinsman". See Appendix: 1.

138. e.g. a'lu, hibru = "tribe". See Appendix: 3

139. See I. J. Gelb, JAOS 87 (1967) 1-8, and forthcoming publications. cf. also Haase, Einführung, p.78 n.399.

140. Published MDP 2 1ff. and Pls. 1-10. See for interpretation I. J. Gelb, MAD III p.181.

141. See I. M. Diakonoff, Sale of Land in Pre-Sargonic Sumer, 1954; A. Suleiman, A Study of Land Tenure in the OB Period, p.64; AsO 22 (1954) 434-443.

142. See C. J. Gadd, CAH(2) I/XXV (No. 28)(1965), 25-31.

143. pp 235-7.

144. The territories occupied by these lineages were known as Bit X "tribe of X", e.g. Bit-Ada, Bit-Atrattas (see King, BBS Index under Bit-).

145. See J. Brinkman, JESHO 6 (1963) 233-242. For the source material (mainly kudurru - inscriptions), see King, BBS (1912) and F. X. Steinmetzer, Die babylonische Kudurrū (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform (1922).

146. See H. Lewy, Or 11 (1942) 1-40; 209-250; 297-349. The Nuzian Feudal System.

147. The ancestral names of the lineages include examples of Akkadian, Kassite and West Semitic types. Almost nothing is known of the internal organization of these communities. Probably the land was divided up among the constituent households of the clan, (cf. BBS 3 i 11ff.) where two men lay claim to 5 g u r of bit-T, and it was only when a particular household head wished to alienate his portion that the rights of the community came into play. BBS 9 illustrates the difficulty of alienating a piece of lineage land. As a result of the transactions recorded in this document, spanning more than thirty years, 3 g u r of land belonging to Bit-Atrattas passed out of the family of Arad-Sibitti into the hands of Buruša, whose household was linked by marriage with that of Arad-Sibitti. Arad-Sibitti apparently needed the presence of his six brothers (or "kinsmen") and his eldest son in order to give this land to his daughter as dowry, (col. i 10-17; cf. 20-29).

148. The nature of the terrain made it impossible for the Assyrians to control these tribes, who frequently formed alliances with the Elamites. The military history of this area and period is well documented by Assyrian royal inscriptions and letters.

149. See below, Ch. VII 2:3.

Transmission and Recruitment by Kin Groups

As a preliminary to the investigation of the cultural expression of awareness of the process of transmission and recruitment by kinship groups, which is the central topic of the thesis, the present chapter will attempt to give an account of the ways in which the process worked in practice.

The previous chapter has already shown the superior role of the male members of a household over the female, and the marginal role of daughters, who normally left their parental household on marriage. The superior role of men in Mesopotamian kinship structure was strongly rooted in their economic power. Private property was controlled predominantly by men and was transmitted patrilineally, i.e. from father to son, the role of women in the process being limited to that of bearing sons.

Much documentary evidence exists for the workings of the institution of inheritance in Mesopotamia, the greatest amount of material coming from OB sources, rather less from MA sources, other periods being not so well documented as these two. The amount of material is continually increasing with new publications and discoveries.

As various aspects of the institution of inheritance, especially in the OB period, have been the subject of many excellent and detailed studies⁽¹⁾ by both Assyriologists and legal historians, a brief survey only will be attempted here, with special emphasis being given to the less well-documented periods.

1. Transmission of Material Property

1:1 Types of Property

In some societies the inheritance rules vary according

to the nature of the property inherited.⁽²⁾ There is no evidence of such variation in Mesopotamia, though certain restrictions and obligations affecting the possession of land affected also the succession to possession of land.

Immovable Property⁽³⁾

At all periods the most important type of property inherited was arable land,⁽⁴⁾ which was the essential basis of the livelihood of most households.

Partible inheritance of land was the rule for all periods⁽⁵⁾ and inherited land was normally divided up among a man's sons at some stage following his death, though, as explained above,⁽⁶⁾ it might sometimes be farmed jointly for a time.

The evidence relating to land held on loan from the crown in return for services under a form of tenure which might loosely be described as "feudal" does not show whether such land and the obligations attaching to it, both known as ilku⁽⁷⁾(m), were normally or only exceptionally partible. That ilku(m) land and duty might in practice be divided, at least in the OB period, is shown by documents in the archive⁽⁸⁾ of the "soldier"⁽⁹⁾ Ubarrum, which record the relations between Ubarrum and his substitute⁽¹⁰⁾ (Akk. tahhum) including their agreement to an equal division of land and duty,⁽¹¹⁾ and by a document⁽¹²⁾ in the same archive which shows that at one stage Ubarrum and his brother were taking turns to farm the land and to do the service. These documents suggest that OB theory and practice were at variance on this point, since CH 26 and 33 expressly forbid the delegation of ilku(m) service to a substitute.⁽¹³⁾

CH 28;29;182 show that a tenancy of ilku(m) land was normally inherited, but 38 restricts such inheritance to males. If it could be established that the majority of the agri-

cultural population at this period was dependent on ilku(m) land for ~~the~~ livelihood, there would be a strong indication, in view of the prevalence of partibility both in practice and in ideals,⁽¹⁴⁾ that ilku(m) land was normally divided. Documents recording the sale of land and the special mention of ilku(m) service in the partition document CT 8 3a L.19-20⁽¹⁵⁾ suggest, however, that private ownership may have been fairly common.⁽¹⁶⁾

There is, unfortunately, no evidence as to the rules governing inheritance of land held in return for rent in the OB period. Short-term business transactions involving the letting of land for cultivation on a fixed term contract appear to have been frequent.⁽¹⁷⁾ By contrast the NA type of tenancy illustrated by the Assyrian Domesday Book was hereditary and the cultivators were attached to the land.⁽¹⁸⁾ There is no evidence of the rules governing inheritance of land held from the crown at periods other than the OB.

Land held by large lineage groups on the MB period appears to have been divided among the constituent households, though there were apparently restrictions on the alienation of such land.⁽¹⁹⁾ There appears to have been a "resistance in principle to the alienation of inherited land"⁽²⁰⁾ even in the OB period, as suggested by evidence of a right of redemption of patrimonial land which had been sold and the periodical reviews and adjustments of rights to land which formed part of the royal mīsarum-act.⁽²¹⁾ In the MA period a check on the sale of patrimonial land appears to have been kept by means of the custom of public proclamation, which was necessary before any sale could be completed.⁽²²⁾ That a similar sentiment existed in early first millenium Babylonia is suggested by BBS 28 r. 1-3.⁽²³⁾

There is very little evidence bearing on the problem of

the disposal of buildings, especially the dwelling house, as part of the estate.⁽²⁴⁾ This question and its bearing on the structure of the domestic family and residence rules have been discussed above in Ch. I. The difficulties are compounded by the wide range of meaning of Akk. bītu(m) "house", which can mean not only a dwelling house or other building, or part of a building, but also the household members and even the aggregate of property belonging to the household and providing its livelihood.⁽²⁵⁾ It is rarely clear which of these meanings the term carries in a particular context.

.. Movable Property

The types of movable property inherited varied little throughout Mesopotamian history, consisting of what was needed to farm the land, e.g. animals, tools, seed, and also furniture and other household effects, and domestic slaves.

(26) (27)

A type of property attested by OB and NB documents is temple offices, which are included here under material property because such offices were treated as sources of income (in land and rights to a share in temple offerings) and could be bought and sold for cash, as well as inherited.

Evidence comes from the OB, OA and MA periods of the inheritance of liability for debts owed by or to the father.⁽²⁸⁾

1:2 Inheritance Rules

1:2:1 Partition of Estates

At all periods the rule was that the major part of a man's property passed to his sons, though there were minor variations in the way in which the property was shared out among the sons at different periods. Such inheritance was automatic and sanctioned by custom, though disputes might sometimes be settled by the judicial authorities,⁽²⁹⁾ and a legal document was drawn up in some, possibly all, cases to

confirm the division agreed among the heirs.

There is, however, evidence that at certain periods a distinction was observed between the eldest son and the others.⁽³⁰⁾ There is no doubt that in Southern Babylonia during the Isin-Larsa period and First Dynasty of Babylon⁽³¹⁾ and in Assyria in the period of the MA Laws,⁽³²⁾ the eldest son was entitled to an extra share of the patrimony.⁽³³⁾

The actual amount of the preferential share of the eldest son shows local and temporal variations. MAL B 1 stipulates a double share,⁽³⁴⁾ and such was also the practice at contemporary Nuzi.⁽³⁵⁾ Partition documents from OB Larsa⁽³⁶⁾ show that the first mentioned son normally received a double share also, whilst at Nippur the first mentioned son normally received an additional share equal to a tenth of the whole estate. For OB Uruk, HG 65 shows one case of an elder son receiving a substantially larger share of the estate than his younger brother.

In many of the OB documents that are written in Sumerian, the term s í b . t a, "additional portion", is applied to part of the larger share allowed to the first heir mentioned, and sometimes the phrase s í b . t a n a m . Š e Š . g a l . l a "additional portion of the eldest brother"⁽³⁷⁾ is used, showing clearly that this increment is a privilege of the eldest son and that in the milieu of these documents such a privilege was a firmly established institution.⁽³⁸⁾

There is no certain evidence of the same institution for contemporary Northern Babylonia, or for other periods. Documents from Sippar in Northern Babylonia provide no evidence of the institution,⁽³⁹⁾ nor does CH refer to it.⁽⁴⁰⁾ It is perfectly credible that different customs may have prevailed in different parts of Babylonia at this period, and other evidence suggests

that this was so.⁽⁴¹⁾

There is absolutely no evidence that this right of primogeniture ever excluded the younger sons from all rights of inheritance, though some scholars⁽⁴²⁾ have seen the elder son's privilege as a survival of such a custom. Inheritance of an undivided estate⁽⁴³⁾ by a single son to the exclusion of the others appears to have been foreign to both the practice and the concepts of Mesopotamian society.

The question of the reasons for the privilege of the eldest son at these periods and of the distinctions of seniority among brothers is extremely important and will be examined in detail below.

1:2:2 Disposition of Property by the Father⁽⁴³⁾

At most periods the head of a household appears to have had the right to decide about the disposal of his property among his sons, though in most cases the right was not exercised and the division of the estate was agreed among the sons after the father's death. Exceptionally, in the OB period at least, the division might take place during the father's lifetime, and in certain cases the father himself carried out the division.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The nearest Akk. equivalent to the concept of a will is šimtu, a term which is used in a variety of contexts to express the concept of a decision affecting the future.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In certain areas outside Assyria and Babylonia, where Akkadian was used for legal documents, the drawing up of a document, termed in OB Elam šimtu, in Nuzi tuppi šimti,⁽⁴⁶⁾ disposing of all the property to a single son or daughter, is attested.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In some of these documents another son or daughter is expressly disinherited in order to make the subject of the document the only heir.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Such documents are not attested for Assyria and Babylonia proper. Disinheritance is mentioned in CH 168-9, which limits a father's right to disinherit his son.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Evidence of disinheritance in practice is extremely rare.⁽⁵⁰⁾

At all periods a father might make a special gift of some part of his private property to a son, daughter or wife during his lifetime.⁽⁵¹⁾ A few OB examples of a father's making a division of his property to take effect after his death⁽⁵²⁾ are exceptional.

It was within the power of a head of household to bestow on a stranger the status of son,⁽⁵³⁾ and it is very significant that it was apparently only by means of this kind of adoption that a man could "will away" his estate to anyone but his bodily sons. A man might also bestow on the sons of a concubine the status of legitimate sons, giving them the right of inheritance which they did not automatically have.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The adoption of an heir, generally by a man who had no legitimate sons of his own,⁽⁵⁵⁾ was fairly common at all periods in Mesopotamia. Instances of the adoption "into sonship" of a brother's son⁽⁵⁶⁾ and even, in one MA example, a brother,⁽⁵⁷⁾ illustrate especially forcefully the importance of the father-son relationship in the establishment of rights of inheritance.⁽⁵⁸⁾

1:2:3 Transmission of Property through Females

As mentioned in Chapter One, p. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ OB partition documents occasionally include a sister among the heirs, e.g. UAZP 184; 190; 196.⁽⁶⁰⁾ For the OA period, ARK 9, recording an agreement made by four brothers and a sister with their deceased father's brother about patrimonial land, and ARK 11, in which three brothers and a sister renounce their claim to a debt owed to their father, suggest equally some right of daughters to a share in patrimonial land. It is noteworthy, however, that

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in none of these OB and OA cases is more than one daughter mentioned, and that daughters do not occur in partition documents often enough to suggest that they normally shared in the partition.⁽⁶¹⁾

It has been suggested⁽⁶²⁾ that daughters did not normally inherit a share of the paternal estate, but that the dowry which they received from their father's household on marriage may be regarded as a satisfaction for a share in the inheritance.⁽⁶³⁾ CH 180-182 entitles a nadītu (Sum. l u k u r) or other votaress who has not been given a dowry (šeriktum) at the time of her dedication a right to a share in her father's estate.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The position of these women was peculiar, since, though they sometimes married, they did not have children.⁽⁶⁵⁾

In two of the OB and OA documents referred to above,⁽⁶⁶⁾ the daughter is specifically stated to have been a nadītu(m), and it may tentatively be suggested that most or all of the OB and OA examples of daughters retaining an interest in the paternal estate may well be cases of women, perhaps all of the nadītu(m) class, who have not received a dowry.

A number of OB documents illustrate the reversion of the dowry of a nadītu(m) who has not been given discretion in its disposal by her father⁽⁶⁷⁾ to her brothers on her death (e.g. UAZP 184; 186; 187; 188; 196). This rule meant, of course, that the dowry returned to the male line from which it originally came, whereas normally the dowry of a married woman would pass to her sons, i.e. to her husband's line.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Some OB documents record the division of an estate between two daughters when there were no sons to inherit, e.g. HG III 49; 76; UAZP 182.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Certain Sumerian laws from the Ur III period explicitly entitled daughters to inherit where there are no sons,⁽⁷⁰⁾ but otherwise there is no rule known as to which

kin had priority in the absence of immediate heirs.⁽⁷¹⁾ There may have been no firm rule, a decision being reached on the basis of individual circumstances, by agreement or by judicial ruling,⁽⁷²⁾ or the rules may have varied according to local custom. There is, however, no evidence of daughters inheriting patrimonial property at periods other than the OB and OA.⁽⁷³⁾

The evidence suggests, therefore, that cases of daughters inheriting were exceptional, and that the major part of the property remained in the hands of men and was transmitted in the male line. As mentioned above,⁽⁷⁴⁾ however, men might make gifts of property to their wives⁽⁷⁵⁾ and daughters, and there is abundant evidence of women owning and dealing in property in ancient Mesopotamia.⁽⁷⁶⁾

2. Transmission of Intangible Assets

2:1 Succession to Occupational Roles

It may be assumed that men who made their living by specialised crafts normally passed on their special skills to their sons, just as men who drew their living from the land would pass on agricultural skills to their sons, and mothers would teach domestic skills to their daughters.

There is very little explicit reference in texts to the training of children in occupational crafts, though CH 188-9 refer to the adoption by a (presumably sonless) craftsman of a boy to be trained in his craft.⁽⁷⁷⁾ Significantly 189 permits such an adopted son to return to his natural parents should the adopter fail to teach him his trade, perhaps suggesting that it was felt to be a duty of a father to teach his trade to his sons. The OB lexical text ana ittišu (MSL I), listing legal phrases which indicate that a man has treated his adopted son in every way like his own son, includes (3 iii 67-68; 7 iii 19) tup-šar-ru-ta ú-ša-ḫi-su, "He has had him learn

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the scribal craft".

It seems probable that there was considerable social pressure on sons to follow their fathers' occupations (though there is little explicit evidence of this⁽⁷⁹⁾, and opportunities for occupational mobility must in any case have been severely limited. It must have been difficult to learn a trade except from a natural or adoptive father since there is no evidence of any system of apprenticeship, (except in the LB period when it was a means of increasing the financial value of slave labour⁽⁸⁰⁾). Hereditary occupations were the basis for the development of hereditary occupational surnames, which became widespread in the first millenium BC.⁽⁸¹⁾

There is evidence that in Babylonia, at least from the MB period onwards, certain professions, in which high status was invested, had become the prerogative of a limited number of families. Technical and literary texts from the MB period onwards show that the traditional knowledge necessary for the practice of professions involving the use of writing (divination, medicine, scholarship) had come to be regarded as esoteric mysteries, not for the eyes of the uninitiated. The contribution of this attitude to the development of ancestral traditions and ancestral names will be discussed in Ch. ⁽⁸²⁾~~VII~~

2:2 Indivisible Roles

2:2:1 Occupations

Most occupational skills could be taught by a father to all his sons, though it may be expected that in some cases the father's role in a particular community could be inherited only by one son, the others having to find some other means of livelihood or move away. There is no evidence as to the usual practice in such cases.

Certain roles in society, to which high status was

attached, were by custom indivisible and could, therefore, be inherited only by one son. The royal succession followed this pattern⁽⁸³⁾ in Mesopotamia, and will be discussed below. The only evidence of such a pattern in any other profession relates to the succession of a divination expert who, according to BBR II 24,⁽⁸⁴⁾ would choose one of his sons to be initiated into the mysteries of the professions (L.20: a-pil-šú šá i-ram-mu,⁽⁸⁵⁾ "The heir whom he prefers").

2:2:2 Royal Succession

The rules governing the selection of an heir to the throne from among the king's sons are not entirely clear. Indeed it is only from Assyria in the NA period that a considerable body of texts (royal inscriptions and letters) has survived which refer to the heir to the throne and the royal succession.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The succession was clearly regarded as a matter of great importance by the Sargonid royal family and by the community as a whole. In Asarh No. 27/2 (PEA Pl. 1) Esarhaddon describes how his father, Sennacherib, appointed him his successor: ina gi-bit DN₁ DN₂ DN₃ u DN₄ DN₅ u DN₆ a d ba-nu-u-a ina u k k i n š e š . m e š -ia s a g . m e š -ia ki-niš⁽⁸⁷⁾ ul-li-ma um-ma an-nu-ú ma-a-ru ri-du-ti-ia, "At the behest of (6 deities) the father who begat me, raised me up legitimately in the assembly of my elder brothers, saying, 'This is the son to succeed me'." Lines 13-19 describe how Sennacherib assembled his family and "all the people of Assyria" and had them swear a mighty oath of allegiance to Esarhaddon: aš-šú na-sar ri-du-ti-ia, "about the preservation of my succession" (L.18). In fact after Sennacherib's death Esarhaddon had to fight his brothers to assert his claim to the throne.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Even more thorough preparations were made to ensure the succession of Esarhaddon's son, Aššurbanipal, to the Assyrian

throne and of Aššurbanipal's brother, Šamaš-šuma-ukin, to the Babylonian throne, as is shown by the group of texts recording the oath of allegiance to Aššurbanipal sworn by Esarhaddon's Iranian vassals,⁽⁸⁹⁾ and the text recording the oath enforced by the old queen mother, Naqi'a/Zakutu, widow of Sennacherib, on the royal family and the nation, upon the accession of Aššurbanipal.⁽⁹⁰⁾

A possible reason for all this elaborate preparation is suggested by ABL 870, a letter criticizing Esarhaddon's arrangements for the succession, which confirms the evidence of Šamaš-šuma-ukin's own titulary, BBS 10 9,⁽⁹¹⁾ that he (described as ahū talimū⁽⁹²⁾ by Esarhaddon and by Aššurbanipal in his inscriptions) was in fact the elder of the two brothers (LL. 10-11): i b i l a -ka g a l -ú a-na l u g a l -ú-te ina ka . d i n g i r . r a . k i ta-as-sa-kan, "Your eldest heir you have established as ruler over Babylon"; r. 1-3 give the writer's⁽⁹³⁾ opinion of the decision: ... l u g a l e n -'ia ina l u g a l . m e š t u r . m e š la ta-ab-tú a-na (kur) Aš-šur e-pu-uš "The king, my lord, has done something harmful to Assyria in (respect) of the young kings".

The emphatic phrase apluka rābū[^] (rather than simply aplu or māru rābū[^]) in L.10 suggests strongly that the writer's objection was to the relegation of the elder son to a subordinate position.⁽⁹⁴⁾ If a right of primogeniture was customarily observed in the Assyrian royal succession, the precautions taken over the succession of Esarhaddon would also be explained, since Esarhaddon was himself a younger son, in fact the youngest son.⁽⁹⁵⁾ It is known that Aššurbanipal's selection for the succession was sanctioned, if not dictated, by consultation of oracles,⁽⁹⁶⁾ but the reasons for the selection of Esarhaddon are not known.

A considerable body of evidence exists from the Sargonid

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period for the role of the crown prince during the lifetime of his father and for the role of his non-successor brothers. That the crown prince occupied special quarters known as bīt rēdûti "the palace of the succession" at least as far back as the reign of Sargon is shown by Aššurbanipal's Annals col. i 23-26: é u š -u-ti had-ru nak-lu mar-kas l u g a l -u-ti ša (md) XXX.p a b . m e š . s u a d . a d a-li-di-ia d u m u . l u g a l -tú ū l u g a l -tú e-pu-šu ina līb-bi-šu, "The palace of succession, a well-made building, abode of royalty, where Sennacherib, father of the father who begot me, exercised king's-son-ship and kingship". Lines 27-31 suggest that the crown prince was conceived, born and educated in the bīt rēdûti: a-šar (md) š á r . p a b . a š a d d ū -u-a ki-rib-šu i'-al-du ir-bu-u e-pu-šu be-lut (kur d) š á r k i gi-mir ma-al-ki ir-du-u kim-tu ú-rap-pi-šu ik-su-ru ni-šu-tú u sa-la-tú u a-na-ku (md) š á r . d ū . a ki-rib-šu a-hu-uz ni-me-ki (d) Nà, "Where Esarhaddon, the father who begot me, was born, grew up, exercised rule over Assyria, controlled all the rulers, extended (his) family, gathered together kin and clan, and where I, Aššurbanipal, learned the wisdom of Nābu". There is no evidence as to whether the bīt rēdûti š Babili (ki), mentioned in VTE ii 86-⁹⁷ as the abode of Šamaš-šuma-ukin was situated in Babylon or not, or whether the phrase was a symbolic way of describing Šamaš-šuma-ukin's status. It would seem, however, that the king's other sons and daughters were brought up in the bīt rēdûti from the reference to kimtu nišūtu and salatu, quoted above, and Šenna-ešerāt's description of herself as d u m u . SAL g a l -tú ša (é u š . m e š -te in a letter 'Streck Assurb. p.392 n.1).

References to officials as attached to the king's son are fairly frequent in NA documents,⁹⁸ though such references do not reveal whether all the king's sons, or only the heir to the

throne, had an establishment of their own. The reference in the passage from Aššurbanipal's Annals, quoted above, to the exercising of mār-sarrutu (L.26) suggests that the young crown prince took over some of his father's functions,⁽⁹⁹⁾ and in fact numerous documents from Esarhaddon's reign show that Aššurbanipal had a substantial administrative⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and economic role.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

An inscription of Aššurbanipal⁽¹⁰²⁾ shows that when he became king he gave his younger brothers high cultic positions,⁽¹⁰³⁾ in accordance with a continuous Mesopotamian tradition having its origins as far back as the ED period, (though the practice is more commonly attested in respect to female members of royal families).⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ There is evidence to suggest that all members of the NA royal family were, as might be expected, well provided with land.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

There is no evidence of daughters succeeding to the throne of Assyria or Babylonia, nor of the succession passing through females at any period,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ though the wife of Shamshi-Adad V, Sammuramat, reigned for five years (810-805) as regent during the minority of their son, Adad-nirari III.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

2:2:3 Collateral Royal Succession

Usurpers

The actual course of the royal succession did in practice show considerable variation from the rule of patrilineal succession in both Assyria and Babylon.

The Akkadian term for a usurper of non-royal descent is mār lā mammāna,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ "son of a nobody"; in the period of confusion in Assyria following the decline of the brief dynasty of Shamshi-Adad I, the King List records the 6 year reign of Aššur-dugul, "son of a nobody",⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ during which six other ephemeral sons of nobodies⁽¹¹⁰⁾ laid claim to the throne, probably during a period of civil war. The last of these was Adasi (c.1700), founder

of the dynasty which then held the throne for over a thousand years. The six year reign of a usurper, (m) Lu-ul-la-a-a
d u m u la mama-na⁽¹¹¹⁾, intervened also between the reign of
 Bazaya, sixth of the Adasi dynasty,⁽¹¹²⁾ and that of his son Kidin-
 Ninua.⁽¹¹³⁾

From Kidin-Ninua, great-grandson of Adasi, dynastic stability was firmly established in Assyria, and later interruptions of the normal course of succession were only by descendants of the dynasty, who were in most cases brother or father's brother to their predecessors, but in one case a more distantly related collateral in the male line. The longest periods of uninterrupted succession from father to son were from Eriba-Adad I to Aššur-nadin-apli (eight kings, c.1400 - c.1200), from Aššur-rabi II to Shalmaneser IV (eleven kings, 1010-782), and the reigns of the Sargonids (seven kings, 721-⁽¹¹⁴⁾ 612 BC).

In some of these cases the King List records that the new king seized the throne illegitimately, e.g. Khors L. ii 45-46: (m) Aššur-ga l -bi d u m u (md) B e . p a b -ir [(m) Aššur šad-ú-ni ina g i š . g u . z a] ú-sat-bi g i š . g u . z a is-bat [x m u . m e š l u g a l -ta d ù -uš], "Aššur-rābi (65), son of Enlil-našir (62),⁽¹¹⁵⁾ deposed Aššur-šaduni ([64], son of Aššur-rabi's brother, Nūr-ili [63]) and seized the throne. He reigned (?) years"; Ibid iii 27-30: (md) M a š . i b i l a . É-kur d u m u (m) D i n g i r -i-ha[d-da] līb-līb-bi ša (m) S u . (d) I š k u r a n a (kur) Kar-du-ni-aš i[1-lik] t a (kur) Kar-du-ni-aš e-la-a g i š . g u . z a is-bat 3 m u . m e š l u g a l -ta d ù -uš, "Ninurta-apal-Ekur (82), son of Ilu-iḥadda, descendant of Eriba-Adad (72), had gone to Karduniaš. He came up from Karduniaš (and) seized the throne. He reigned three years." Ninurta-apal-Ekur was only very distantly related to his predecessor, claiming descent from the latter's

ancestor in the seventh generation.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Other usurpations recorded by the King List are the accession of Mutakkil-Nusku (85), who deposed his brother, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur (84) (Khors L. iii 34-36), and of Šamši-Adad IV (91) who deposed his brother's son, Eriba-Adad II (90) (Khors. L. iv 1-4).⁽¹¹⁷⁾⁽¹¹⁸⁾

In a number of cases the accession of a brother or father's brother passes without comment in the King List, e.g. Khors. L. iii 43-44 (Aššur-bel-kala); iv 9 (Aššur-rabi II); iv 27-32 (Shalmaneser IV, Aššur-dan III, Aššur-nirari V, three brothers, successors of their father, Adad-nirari III).⁽¹¹⁹⁾

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Regular Collateral Succession c.1700-1400 B.C.

During the period from Belu-bani, son of Adasi, to Aššur-nadin-aḫḫe II, i.e. from about 1700 BC to about 1400 BC, the royal succession passed regularly through brothers, contrary to the record of the King List, which states that most of the kings of this period were sons of their predecessors. The unreliability of the King List on this point was demonstrated by Landsberger, in JCS 8 (1954) 42-43, extending the emendations made by Poebel, in JNES 1 (1942) 481 ff., of the entries for the kings 68 to 70. Poebel's emendations were based on the authentic inscriptions of Aššur-rim-nišešu, (70) Eriba-Adad I and Aššur-uballiṭ I (nos. 72 and 73), whose genealogies (quoted below, Ch. VI), make it clear that Aššur-bel-nišešu and Aššur-rim-nišešu (69 and 70) were brothers, as were Aššur-nirari II and Enlil-naṣir II (67 and 68).⁽¹²¹⁾ Landsberger (JCS 8 pp. 42-45) showed that collateral succession must have taken place frequently also during the earlier part of the period. According to the King List Bazaya, fifth successor of Adasi, succeeded his own great-grandson, Iṣṣar-Sin and reigned for 28 years! The regnal years given by the King List would, furthermore, give an average generation of $12\frac{3}{4}$ years for the son, grandson,

great-grandson and great-great-grandson of Adasi, a clear impossibility. The details of Landsberger's emendations are tabulated in JCS 8, 42-3, and, although some details are tentative and open to correction, the reconstruction is undoubtedly substantially correct.⁽¹²²⁾ Apparently then, during these 300 years it was the rule rather than the exception for brothers to succeed each other on the throne in order of seniority, the succession then passing ideally to the sons of the eldest brother.⁽¹²³⁾

It is interesting that the same system appears to have been in use among the Kassite rulers before and after their conquest of Babylonia, during approximately the same period as in Assyria (Gandaš[✓] to Kadašman-Enlil I[✓]). Landsberger's reconstruction of the chronology of the period, based on synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian reigns, shows the number of generations of Kassite kings in this period to have been considerably less than the numbers of the kings themselves.⁽¹²⁴⁾ There is no evidence for this system of succession before or after this period in either Assyria or Babylonia, and it would be very interesting to know what factors led to the adoption of this system at the same time in the two royal families, and the later return to the old system of patrilineal succession.

2:2:4 Distinctions of Seniority among Brothers

Mention has previously been made of the increment allowed to the eldest son in the division of an inheritance at certain periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history and of hints of a tradition of primogeniture in the Assyrian royal succession. There is considerable evidence that significant distinctions of seniority among brothers existed even at periods and in areas for which there is no evidence of such material privileges.⁽¹²⁵⁾

From the OB period onwards aplu(m), "heir", is occasionally used in Babylonian texts with the same connotations as māru(m) ⁽¹²⁶⁾rābu(m), "eldest son", e.g. BE VI/2 48 7-8: I₁ i b i l a ^vš e ^vš . g a l I₂ ^vš e ^vš . a . n i ù I₃ ^vš e ^vš . a . n e . n e, "I₁, the heir, the eldest brother, I₂ his brother (i.e. the next youngest), and I₃ their brother (i.e. the youngest of the three)⁽¹²⁷⁾;

BWL p.84 (Theodicy) 249-250: i-na su-qi zi-lu-l-li[š] i-sa-a-a-ad aplum i-šar-ra-ak ter-den-nu a-na ka-ti-i ti-ú-ta, "The heir is running about in the street like a pedlar, (while) the second son is rich enough to give food to the poor" (after references, ll. 247-8, to ra-bi a-hi and dup-pus-su-ú). cf. ARM 8 1 22 (quoted above, n.39) and Nuzi, HSS V 71: 32-33: mu-uš-šir é . hi . a g a l ša i b i l a -ma,⁽¹²⁸⁾ "excluding the main buildings, which belong to the heir" (partition document). cf. also Diri I 273; SA VI/1, 99: d u m u . s a g = i b i l a .

From the Kassite period in Babylonia, and later on in Assyria, special terms came into use to express distinctions of seniority among brothers. These are tardennu⁽¹²⁹⁾ "second son" and duppušsu⁽¹³⁰⁾ "third son". The distinction in meaning between the two terms is observed only in lexical lists,⁽¹³¹⁾ as duppušsu is used in context only in the general sense of "younger son",⁽¹³²⁾ while tardennu often has the same meaning.⁽¹³³⁾

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The usage of these two terms suggests that the important distinction was between the eldest son and the others, and there is no evidence that any scale of degrees of seniority was in operation.⁽¹³⁴⁾

Various suggestions may be made in explanation of the distinction made between the eldest son and his younger brothers. The first son would be for a time the only son, in whom all his parents' hopes of posterity would be invested, though these hopes would be confirmed by the birth of further sons. He would also be the first to work alongside his father on the farm or in the workshop or family business,⁽¹³⁵⁾ and would represent him when the father could not act for himself. (Similar general assumptions, in terms of the female activities of the household, would probably be sufficient to explain the evidence of some distinction made between elder and younger daughters.⁽¹³⁶⁾)

It is a reasonable assumption that when brothers lived together as a joint household, it would usually be the eldest brother who would lead the household and make the final decisions, whether by custom or simply by reason of habitually having more responsibility than his juniors, even during the father's lifetime. Evidence of such authority of elder brothers is afforded by cases of brothers exercising patria potestas over brothers and sisters⁽¹³⁷⁾ and men being named after their brother instead of their father,⁽¹³⁸⁾ though the latter phenomenon is relatively more frequent in Sumerian (Ur III) sources.⁽¹³⁹⁾ This suggests, perhaps, that fraternal authority was more commonly exercised at earlier periods than it was later.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

It has been suggested⁽¹⁴¹⁾ that tardennu is derived from redû, "to follow" and such an etymology is supported by the Sumerian equivalent u s . s a.⁽¹⁴²⁾ The semantic connection may arise from the idea that the second brother is the next-in-line for the

status of senior brother,⁽¹⁴³⁾ or possibly from the idea that the younger brother follows the senior's lead.

It is possible that the role of the eldest son may have included special functions in domestic ritual,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ but evidence on this point is lacking. References in certain OB partition documents to a paššur sakki (written g i ^v . b a n ^v s u r z a g . g ^v u . l a)⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ "ceremonial tray", which occurs only as part of the preferential portion of the eldest son, are the only indications of such a ceremonial role. References to domestic worship of any kind are very sparse in Mesopotamian texts,⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ although there is evidence of a limited form of domestic ancestor worship at all periods.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

3. Assurance of Continuation

3.1. Introduction

It will be apparent from the foregoing sections that the birth of a son must have been a very important event for a Mesopotamian household and was indeed essential for the continuing economic viability of the household, for the livelihood of the parents in old age, and perhaps also for the preservation intact of the family property. The following Chapter will discuss in detail the evidence of the desire for offspring in its cultural expression, which in fact only rarely alludes to the underlying economic factors outlined by these first two Chapters.

If a man died without heirs his estate would, according to the evidence available, be administered by the state,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ which would assign it to one or more of his surviving agnates or, as the omen CT 27 40 r.9⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ suggests, in the absence of surviving agnates the estate would fall to the crown.

3.2. Mechanisms of Recruitment

That Mesopotamian householders were, in fact, concerned

to ensure that they had sons to inherit their property is clearly demonstrated by their practical conduct of their affairs. The universally accepted purpose of marriage was the birth of children,⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ and if a marriage proved barren, various stratagems were available to a Mesopotamian householder in order to supplement the provisions of nature. It was relatively easy to divorce a barren wife⁽¹⁵¹⁾ or to take additional wives or concubines.⁽¹⁵²⁾ Polygamous marriage has already been discussed in Ch. I, where it was observed that kings, to whom the securing of the succession was of particular importance, generally had a well-stocked harem.

The stratagem most used to circumvent infertility was, to judge by the numbers of texts, adoption,⁽¹⁵³⁾ most usually of an outsider, but occasionally of a near kinsman⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ or even a domestic slave,⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ who had a son's right of inheritance and obligation to maintain his parents in old age.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Adoption documents occur at all periods, though they become rarer in the NA/NB period for reasons which are not clear.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

A variety of adoption which is only rarely and uncertainly attested is son-in-law adoption, the institution by which a man who has a daughter but no son takes in a son-in-law, who thereby loses any rights in his natal household but enjoys or even inherits his father-in-law's estate, which then passes to his own son.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ The only references to this institution in Ancient Mesopotamia come from certain Sumerian legal documents of the Ur III period,⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ in a difficult passage of Cl,⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ and in the OB collection of legal phrases, ana ittišū, where in the section dealing with adoption the following phrases occur: tup-pi ap-lu-ti-šū iš-tur-šū ma-rat-su a-na ú r (sun) i-šū iš-kun é ù ú-na-ti-šū ip-qí-is-su, "He has written out a tablet of inheritance for him, he has given his daughter into

his embrace (lit. "lap"), (and) he has assigned the house and movables to him". (MSL 1 III iv 32-36.) The following lines (37-39) run: ar-bu šu-u a-na é a-bi-šu mīn-ma ša ir-šu-ú ú-se-rib-šu, "That arbu has brought with him into him anything that he has acquired from his father's house". The use of the term arbu,⁽¹⁶¹⁾ "fugitive", suggests that a very specialized form of adoption is listed here, involving a young man who has in some way forfeited his rights in his own household.⁽¹⁶²⁾ The fact that there are no later references to such adoptions⁽¹⁶³⁾ suggests that these isolated references may be survivals of an institution that belonged to an earlier phase of Mesopotamian society.

There is no evidence⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ in Mesopotamia of the institution of the levirate, by which a man had the right or duty to marry his brother's widow, though this institution was known to the Hittites⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ and Jews.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ There is no trace of other, more exotic institutions, such as ghost marriage.

Conclusions

The evidence discussed in this Chapter has shown the crucial importance of the relationship between father and son (whether naturally or fictively created) in the inheritance system. The limited powers of a father to disinherit a son or dispose of the family property to an outsider, the tendency for property inherited by females to revert to the male line, and the use of adoption all demonstrate this point.

No attempt has been made to analyse the economic and social significance of the inheritance system in the total society, the stability of land-ownership in certain families,⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ or the extent to which the inheritance system perpetuated differences of social status. In view of the unequal distribution of sources, such an attempt would be extremely hazardous.

Nor is it possible to estimate to what extent the partible system led to pressure on land and the seeking of alternative sources of livelihood, (this must have varied with the different ecological conditions of north and south). What has been attempted is rather to outline the economic background to the concepts of ancestry and descent which are discussed in the following Chapters.

Notes

1. e.g. J. Klíma, Erbrecht (1940); ArOr 18 (1950) 150ff; ArOr 27 (1959) 401-406; P. Koschaker, Erbrecht in E. Ebert, e.d., Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte (1925) 115-119; I. Mendelsohn, BASOR 156 (1959) 38-40; F. R. Kraus, "Vom altmesopotamischen Erbrecht" in SD 9 (1969) 1-17. See also discussions in Driver and Miles, The Assyrian Laws (1935) and The Babylonian Laws (BabL), Vol. I (1952) pp.324-358; A. Falkenstein, NSGU I 111-114.
2. e.g. the Yak8 of W. Africa who inherit immovables in the male line and movables in the female line. See L. Mair, An Introduction to Social Anthropology (1965) 66-7.
3. See G. Cardascia, "Le concept babylonien de la propriété", in RIDA 6 (1959) 19ff.
4. The most common term for arable land was equ(m), which occurs in documents concerning sale and inheritance at all periods; bītu(m) "estate" is also used at most periods, and in the OB period bītum epšum (written é . d ù . a), "cultivated estate", and equ(m) kirū(m) ū bīt(m), "field, plantation and house" are the most usual terms in partition documents. Occasionally, especially in MB and NA documents ālu: u r u, "settlement, town, village" is used in the sense of "estate", perhaps always implying the inclusion of dependent niše (see above, Ch. I 1:1), e.g. (MB) MDP 2 99f. ii 25; BE 14 166: 4,9,14,17,20; (NA) ADD 738 (Aru 25) 6; 471 (167) 20; 470 (168) 12; ABL 1008 6. cf. the buying and selling of villages in OB Alalakh, AT Nos. 52-58. Technical terms for types of land, e.g. ugaru(m), "pasture", KAJ 179'6-8; zeru(m) (written š e . n u m u n), "cornland", MDP II 86ff 21,23,25, are also used for the details of estates, cf. MAL A 45.
5. See CH 165-167; 170-171; 173-174 and passim; MAL B 1-5, and partition documents, e.g. (OB) UAZP 179-197; BE 6/2 (1909) passim; YOS 6 8,10,11,12 passim; Strassmaier, Warka 25,26,52, 91 etc.; (OA) ARK 10; 287; (MA) Afo 20 121f. (VAT 8923); KAJ 10; (MB) See Ch. I, n.147; there are no NA partition documents, but references to zittu (= "share of an inheritance" or "totality of assets of an inheritance", $\sqrt{\text{zazu}}$, "to divide"; see CAD Vol. 21 139-149, meanings 1 and 4) in NA documents concerned with land suggest that a partible system prevailed for land at this period also, e.g. ADD 346:6; 911:9.
6. Ch. I 2:2:3.

7. √alāku(m), "to go". See CH 27-31; 38; 40; 182 and BabL I pp. 111-127; MAL A 45 and pp. 258-262; ADD III pp. 324-5. Land might also be held from the crown for rent (Akk. biltu(m)), at least in the OB period, e.g. CH 36-41. From the MB period a new range of terms for "feudal" services come into use besides ilku, suggesting changes in the system of tenure, e.g. dullu, dugdullu, tupšikku, (Ass. tupšukku), dekûtu, šipru, etc.
8. Published by E. Sollberger in JCS 5 (1951) 77ff. The archive is discussed by E. Szlechter in JCS 7 (1953) 81ff. and again by B. Landsberger, JCS 9 (1955) 121-131, where the documents are discussed from the point of view of the light they shed on the social and economic structure of Babylonia.
9. rēdum (Sum. u k u . u š). The functions of the rēdum in fact extended beyond the purely military, as he might be employed in digging canals, escorting caravans, or on any kind of royal expedition (harrān šarrim). See BabL II p.161 for the various translations suggested.
10. Nos. 19-23 in Szlechter's numeration, loc. cit.
11. Nos. 20-21.
12. No. 24.
13. On pain of death for either the rēdum himself (26) or the recruiting official (33).
14. See YOS 10 41.34. See in general n. 33.
15. (UAZP 194) i-li-ik é . a . b a mi-it-ha-ri-iš i-il-la-ku, "They shall perform jointly the ilku(m) -duties of their paternal estate".
16. In MB Nuzi ilku land was not normally divided, though it might be held jointly. It might occasionally be held by a woman. See especially H. Lewy, Or 11 (1942) 1-40; 209-250; 297-349. Political changes in the OB period may well have affected the tenure of land in the various Mesopotamian states. Matouš suggests (AcOr 17/2 [1949], 142-5; 152) that in Larsa all land was concentrated in the hands of the crown and of one wealthy family after the conquest by Babylon.
17. See CH 42-47; 52; 60-65; JCS 7, Nos. 5, 9 and 10; TCL 8 passim.
18. See above, Ch. I, 1:1.
19. See above, Ch. I 3, n.147.
20. Quoted from J. J. Finkelstein, AS 16 (1965) 241f.

21. e.g. LE 39; BE VI/2 64, cf. 38. See Finkelstein, loc. cit; F. R. Kraus, Edikt 44f; 183ff; 249a; A. Goetze, LE p.113 n. 21; M. San Nicolò, Schlussklauseln, 9f. and B. A. van Proosdij in Symbolae van Oven, pp.29-35.

22. See MAL B 6 and cf. P. Koschaker, NKRA 4 (pp.36-52).

23. ...l u g a l it-ta-din u ri-hi a . š à é a d -ia
l u g a l li-ri-man-ni-ma é a d -ia ana si-i-ti la us-si,
"...may the king give, and as to the remainder of my patrimonial land, may the king graciously grant it to me; let not my patrimony be alienated" (lit. "go outside"). cf. also BBS 3 iii 29: a . š à šu-a-tu ip-tu-ur "he redeemed that field". The Akk. verb patāru means literally "to release". The principle of inalienability of patrimonial land was in full force at Nuzi (see H. Lewy, loc. cit.) and in Israel, e.g. Lev. 25: 23-34; Jer. 32: 6-15.

24. In some OB partition documents the dwelling-house is divided into parts, but this may be a purely formal division intended to settle the shares of the different heirs provisionally in advance of the physical division.

25. Note that the Latin term familia, from which the English "family" is derived, originally meant the property of a household. The range of meaning covered by bītu in Akk. is almost identical with that covered by the Greek oikos. See Appendix:3.

26. See D. Cocquerillat, RIDA III/2 (1955) 37-106. There was a tendency for such incomes to become concentrated in the hands of a few families at Nippur and Isin.

27. e.g. BR 8/7 35; 36.

28. e.g. HG 1066 26-7; cf. 788 A 1-11; B 1-8; ARK 216;218; 221;245;246; KAJ 171; (NB) Kohler and Peiser Rechtsl. III 16-17; Meissner Afo 11 153-4.

29. HG 797; 798; Afo 20 p.121f. (VAT 8923), where the (lú) qipu and tupšar āli make the division, but the brothers still cannot agree (LL. 21-22: PN ū š e š . m e š -šu a-na zu-a-zi la i-ma-gu-[ru]). It is not certain whether official intervention was, in fact, always required, or only in cases of disagreement. Note that zitta zāzu is listed as a scribal accomplishment along with accounting and surveying in the scholastic text K 2459 (published by J. C. Gadd, BSOAS 20 [1957] p.256). MAL B 1 lays down that the cultivated land should be divided by the youngest son, the eldest then taking

the first share, after which all the brothers drew lots (see n.34). In UAZP 185 two brothers guarantee the shares of minors, who received their shares seven years later (recorded in UAZP 186). The minors were a younger brother and two sons of a deceased brother. For partibility of land, see n.5 above.

30. See in general Mendelsohn, loc. cit. (n.1 above);

P. Koschaker, ZA 41 (1933) pp.62-64; BabI p.331.

31. See M. Schorr, UAZP p.233; F. R. Kraus, JCS 3, p.116-117; J. Klíma, Erbrecht, p.27; P. Koschaker, HG 1439, p.11, Anm.

32. Probably 14th or 13th century BC. (See AssL pp.4-12).

33. It is fairly certain that, apart from this preferential portion, all types of property were at all periods divided equally among the brothers, as is shown by actual partition documents, e.g. BE 6/2 32 (UAZP 191); VAT 8923 (Afo 20 p.121f.), etc. and in omens (see n.14). (The term mahāriš, which occurs frequently in CH could mean either "equally" or "proportionately"). At least in the OB period, if one of the brothers had died before the division, his surviving sons would divide the share he would have received (divisio per stirpes) e.g. HG 60;63;74;795;801;802. In some cases the eldest brother bought up the shares of the younger brothers, e.g. BE 6/1 50 (UAZP 189).

34. LL.11-14: d u m u g a l -ú 1 q a -a -t a i -n a -s a -a q i -l a k -
k i ù š a š a -n i -t e q a -t i -š u i š -t u š e š . m e š -š u p u r -š u i -s a -
a l -l i , "The eldest son shall choose and take one portion and
shall cast lots with his brothers for his second portion".
cf. also the partition text VAT 8923 (Afo 20 121f.)

35. e.g. HSS 5 60;67;71;82.

36. e.g. TCL 10 30;31;35; 11 141;174;200;218; YOS 6 48; 8 74;
75;88;98;133; 12 90. See L. Matouš, loc. cit. (n.16).

37. e.g. BE 6/2 26;32;43; JCS 8 (1954) 137-141.

38. The Akk. equivalent elātum, elū(m) "to go up, be above",
is given by a.i. (MSL 1) III iv 8-9: h a . l [a s i b .
t a š e š . g a l š u . b a . a b . t e . g] á = zi-it-tú
e-la-tu a-hu g a l -ú i -l a q -q i "The eldest brother will take
an additional share" (in the context of the adoption of an heir
with the rights of an eldest son). cf. UAZP 8 (OB Sippar) and
HSS V 7;60;67; RA 23, No. 12; AASOR 10, No. 8.

39. But note the adoption document UAZP 8 9-12: u ma-ri B. u H. li-ir-šu-ú-ma I.-ma a-hu-šu-nu ra-bu-um, "Furthermore, however many sons B. and H. may acquire, I. will still be their elder brother". (cf. ARM 8 1 obv. 19- r.26: (m)H. u (f) A. ma-ri ma-du-tim ma-li ir-[šu]-ú-ma (m)I. ap-lu-um i-na é H. a-bi-šu ša-it-ti-in i-li-qi-ma a-hu-šu sé-he-ru-tum a-hu-um ki-ma a-hi-im i-za-az-<zu>, "However many sons H. and A. may acquire, I. is the heir. He shall take a two-fold (share) in the estate of H., his father, and his younger brothers shall divide equally"; [lit. "brother by brother"].)

40. CH 165 refers to a special gift made to one of the heirs by his father at his own discretion, as the phrase ša in-šu mah-ru, "who comes before his eye" (L.35) indicates. A term pūt zitti in LB texts has been interpreted as "preferential share" (e.g. M. Rutten, RA 41 99-103), but CAD (Vol. 21 p.145) interprets pūt zitti ša PN i t t i PN₂ as "jointly held property to which PN has title and of which PN₂ is a co-owner without title".

41. There are other striking differences in format between the partition documents from Southern Babylonia (Nippur, Isin, Uruk, Larsa) written in Sumerian and those from Northern Babylonia (Sippar, Babylon) written in Akkadian. The main difference is that the Southern documents list all the shares on the same tablet, while the Northern documents use a separate tablet for each share. (In the case of UAZP 179-181, all three tablets have survived.) cf. also the statement in a letter, CT 43 92 (Pl. 38), Kraus ABB I 92 L.16-17: ap-lu-tum se-he-er-tum u ra-bi-tum i-na Z i m b i r^{ki} ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši, "The positions of younger and elder heir do not exist in Sippar", according to Kraus; CAD I/2 p. 178a interprets aplūtum seḫertum u rabūtum as referring to daughters "whether younger or elder". The present author would favour the translation of Kraus, since documents show that inheritance by daughters was possible in OB Sippar.

42. Notably Koschaker, e.g. ZA 41 pp.69f.; Ebert, Reallexikon III p. 115.

43. See in general Koschaker, in Ebert, Reallexikon, 117-119.

44. e.g. HG 1047; 1425; 1437; 1444. See above, Ch. I, p. 45 and n. 115.

45. √šamū, "to decide, decree". On the significance of šimtu in Mesopotamian "psychology", see A. L. Oppenheim, Anc. Mes.

Ch. IV, pp.201-205.

46. e.g. HSS 19 17 1; See E. Cassin RA 63 (1969) 123. For disposing of property to anyone other than son, daughter or wife, an adoption form was used (and even for other relatives).

47. e.g. MDP 23 285 (OB Susa); AT 6 (OB Alalakh).

48. e.g. MDP 23 137 (OB Susa); Nu. 478,577,622; HSS 5 7.

49. The judges must decide whether the son has deserved "the heavy penalty of disinheritance" (ar-nam kab-tam ša i-na ap-lu-tim na-sa-³hi-im, 168 LL.25-27), and only if they so decide on two separate occasions, may the father disinherit his son (169). Disinheritance appears to have been easier at Nuzi and OB Susa, see nn.37, 38 above and HSS 19 17, in which the father deprives the eldest son of his customary privilege (see above) and disinherits any sons who are not mentioned in the document. cf. also HSS 19 27 (JCS 9 [1963] p.67). An ilku holder had the right to decide which son should inherit the ilku land. An adopted son or daughter might forfeit the right to inherit by unfilial behaviour, according to the terms of many adoption contracts (see a.i. [MSL 1] III iv 10-16; 40-43): HG 674;477;680;738.

50. e.g. NSGU 204 22-33; cf. Surpu II 44.

51. e.g. CH 39;165; KAJ 179; Aru 47 (See also below on dowries). Such documents are usually careful to ensure the arrangement against dispute after the father's death. cf. CL 18 5-11.

52. e.g. HG 778; PBS 8/2 155. Note also the earlier document NSGU 1:15-21, making provision for the widow, (see above Ch. I 2:2:3).

53. In some adoption and legitimation documents the Akk. term mārūtu(m) or māru, "son", is sufficient to imply inheritance rights, at least in the context of those documents, e.g. CT 8 37d 9; UAZP 22 7; ARM 8 1 1-3; BE 14 40 4 (MB); ARU 6 7; & passim in Nuzi adoptions (see E. Cassin, L'Adoption à Nuzi, 1938). Many documents, however, state that A has bestowed inheritance rights (Akk. aplūtu(m)) on B (e.g. UAZP 17 3; BE VI/2 24 6, Sum. n a m . i b i l a . a . n i -šú); cf. a.i. (MSL 1) III iii 65 and 32-3 (tup-pi ap-lu-ti-³su).

54. See above, Ch. I, n.128 on CH 170. 171 states that, without legitimation, the sons of a slave-concubine have no inheritance rights (though they did have a right to be released from slavery).

MAL A 41 states that the sons of concubines have the right to inherit if the main wife has no sons: sum-ma l ú me-e-it
d u m u . m e š d a m -su pa-su-un-te la-as-su d u m u . m e š
eš-ra-a-te d u m u . m e š su-nu h a . l a i-lak-ki-ú,
 "If a man has died (and) his veiled wife (See Ch. I, n.134) has no sons, the sons of concubines are then sons; they shall take a share (of the property)" (LL. 11-13). The OB document CT 8 37d (UAZP 12) appears to record the legitimation of one of the sons of a second wife who was probably not a slave (as her brothers are mentioned as being likely to act with her in LL. 11-14), but may perhaps have belonged to the class of sugētum, whom a man might marry in addition to a nadītum (see below n.65) in order to acquire children, according to CH 145. (See on this text Driver, BabL I 333.)

55. The terms of the adoption contract frequently regulate the position if the adopter subsequently has sons of his own, e.g. UAZP 8; ARM 8 1; (see n. 39 above); a.i.(MSL1)III iv 3-7; (MA) KAJ I 20-25: [inuma (?) māre(pl)i-]-ra-šu-ú-ni [...]
d u m u e g a l 2 qa-ta i-lak-ki-ma (m)Gi-mil-lu iš-tu
š e š . m e š -su t u r . t u r . -ti qa-ta mi-it-ha-ar
 "In the event of (?) their acquiring sons, the eldest natural son (lit. "son of the house") shall take two portions, and Gimillu (the adoptee) shall take an equal portion with his (the eldest son's?) younger brothers". The Nuzi documents HSS V 7, 60 and 67 likewise give eldest brother's rights to a possible future natural son, making the adoptee in this event the second son (tertenu, see below); the NA adoption document Aru 41 gives the adoptee eldest brother's rights, "even if Sinqi-Ištar (and) Nabu-na'id (the adoptive parents) have seven sons" (LL. 6-8).

56. e.g. KAJ 1 (quoted previous note); see also (LB) A. Ungnad, Afo 14, p. 62f. for the adoption of a sister's son.

57. KAJ 2.

58. cf. MAL A 41 L.13 (n. 54 above): d u m u . m e š su-nu
 "(the sons of concubines) are then sons", where māru is used in the specialized sense of "heir" (more usually aplu). The term aplu(m) is most often used with reference to sons (in pre-OB texts, Sum. i b i l a always refers to a son, e.g. NSGU 80 13-16 and 183 13-15; CL 15 [AJA 52 (1948) 439-40] 50-51), but in the OB period it is occasionally used of other kin, inheriting from women, e.g. CT 8 46a 29; 45 29 23; 112

16-17; cf. MDP 28 p.399 9-11 (OB Susa), and a term apiltu(m) "heiress" occurs, e.g. CT 6 42b 11 (though ridit warkati(m) is more usual in such contexts; cf. LB personal name (f) Ap-la-tum (Dar. 140:2). In many contexts from the OB period onwards aplu(m) can mean simply "son", e.g. CH 180 52-55; Meissner BAP 95 8; KAR 74 r.6; Diri I 267-278.

59. 1:3 and n. 52

60. cf. UAZP 22 1-11 and Ch. I n. 52

61. References to māre(pl.) or ahhē(pl.) in general contexts relating to partition, e.g. laws, omens, do not in themselves prove the exclusion of daughters from inheritance rights, since it may be argued that māre(pl.) may include daughters and ahhē(pl.) sisters. See in general on inheritance by daughters, Klíma, ArOr 18 150ff.

62. e.g. AssL. pp.138-9; Klíma, loc. cit.

63. Note that there is no evidence of dowries as a Sumerian institution. There is no Sumerian equivalent for Akk. Šeriktu(m). Sumerian documents of the OB period use the circumlocution: i n . n a . i n . t u r, "she has brought in (to her husband's household)".

64. In the case of certain types of votaress an amount equal to an heir's share, in the case of others one third of an heir's share.

65. See CH 144; 147. On this class of women see in general R. Harris, JCS 16 (1962) 1ff; JESHO 6 (1963) 121ff; J. Renger ZA 58 (= NF 24) (1967) 110-188. On women attached to the cult in the MA period, see B. A. Brooks, AJSL 39 (1923) 189-194.

66. UAZP 196 (CT 4 34a) and ARK 11.

67. cf. CH 178-9.

68. cf. CH 173; NB Laws 13. NB Laws 10 shows that in this period the agnates of a married woman had a right to inherit her dowry if she had no sons. Note that NB documents show mothers deciding about the disposal of their dowries (nudunnū) among their sons (e.g. Nbn 65; RA 41 99-103). OB references to property inherited by men and women from their mothers or fathers' mothers are fairly frequent, e.g. HG III 462; UAZP 189 11-13; 190 19-20 and especially UAZP 202 (CT 8 34b) 17-20, where the son who supports his widowed mother receives a special share of her property. cf. also PBS 7 55 6-7: ap-lu-ut d u m u.

SAL a-hi a-bi-ia il-li-kie-ma, "The inheritance of the daughter of my father's brother had been taken". Note especially **VS** 13 34 (HG 1442); **UAZP** 188 18-21 where a nadītu(m) is "holding" (za-ab-ta-at) "property inherited from her mother, which will eventually belong to her brothers". There is no doubt that the nadītu(m) institution helped to keep property within a family.

69. In the case of **UAZP** 182, the daughters are a nadītu and a gadištu.

70. e.g. Gudea, Statue B VII 44-46; Cyl. B 18 8-9; UM 55-21-71 (**AS** 16 [1965] 4-6) ii 8-11; r. ii 12-15 (this latter text possibly part of CL). These texts may refer to a special ceremonial role of the eldest heir, rather than rights of inheritance (see Ch. IV, pp. 134-6).

71. The Hittite laws, however, gave a clear ruling that a daughter's children would inherit in the absence of a son, (**KB** IV 10 r. 12-14).

72. cf. judicial decisions in **NSGU** 80;183; **BBS** 3; **BBS** 7, etc.

73. But note claims to land through mothers in **BBS** 13 I (i 11-15) by K., mār mār̄ti ša Bīt- T., and (i 40-44) Izkurea, mār mār̄ti ša Bīt- T.

74. p. 73 n. 51. In OB Elam and Alalah and MA Nuzi the willing of property to a daughter seems to have been fairly common, e.g. **MDP** 22 137; 23 285; 24 381; **AT** 9;11; cf. **AT** 7; Nuzi 622.

75. This was normally the only form of provision for widows, though **CH** 172 entitles a widow who has not been so provided for to an heir's share in the husband's property for her maintenance. The husband's settlement (nudunnū(m)) could not be sold and passed to his sons on his wife's death, (**CH** 171).

76. The OB nadītu - women seem to have been particularly concerned to add to their property by purchase. **UAZP** 15 19 records the adoption by a nadītu(m) of a girl who is to take care of her in her old age and inherit her (presumably private) property. Most of the adoptions published as **UAZP**, Nos. 13-22, are contracts between females on the same pattern, and the adopters may well be nadītu in these cases also, though it is not explicitly stated. cf. the very similar MB document **BE** 14 40, which may suggest that the nadītu(m) institution survived at least to the time of Kurigalzu. On the status of women in Assyrian and Babylonian society see: A. Falkenstein, **NSGU** I p.81; J. Bottéro in P. Grimal, "Histoire mondiale de la femme"

(1965) 153-227; F. Kinal, Belleten 20 (1956) p.367ff.

77. cf. the adoption of a son to be trained as a weaver at Nuzi (Or 10 [1941] p.206; see E. R. Lacheman, HSS 15 p.572) and the training of daughters of vassal rulers in the art of singing at the royal court, ARM I 64 r.x + 7; (LB) BE 8/6 98 4-6;10; cf. JNES 11, p.134.

78. See also A. Ungnad, Afo 14, 62f.

79. cf. Or 13 (1944) (SEM 60,61,64) 308: n a m (d)E n .
l i l . l á l u l ũ . a n a m . b i . t a r : r i d u m u
k i n . g i 4 . a a d . d a . n a . k a m i . i b . ũ š , "It
is in accordance with the fate decreed by Enlil for man that
a son follows the work of his father". (Edubba text)

There are a number of isolated examples of children following
their fathers' occupations, e.g. Legend of Sargon (CT 13 42)
i 10-11: (m)Ak-ki l ũ . a . b a l a - n a m a - r u - t i - š ũ [.....]
u-rab-ban-ni (m)Ak-ki l ũ . a . b a l a - n a l ũ . N U . g i š
SAR . t i - š ũ l u - u i š - k u n [- a n - n i] , "Akki, the irrigator
me as his son, he brought me up. Akki, the irrigator, set me
to his gardening work"; ABL 473 10-11: (m)Kin-sa-a-a l ũ .
n a r t a d u m u . SAL . m e š - š ũ i n a p a - n i - š ũ - n u i - z a - m u -
r u , "K., the musician, with his daughters, will sing before
them".

80. See especially M. San Nicolo, Der neubabylonische Lehr-
vertrag in rechtsvergleichender Betrachtung, SBAW 1950/3;
Mendelsohn, Slavery, pp.113-115; D. B. Weisberg, Gild Structure
and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia (Yale
Near Eastern Researches 1) 1967, 99-101. One OB example is
known (YOS 5 253) of a slave sent to a potter to learn his
trade. cf. J. G. Lautner, AP 13 n.39. In BBS 27 some form of
apprenticeship appears to be involved in a sale of land. Contr-
acts of apprenticeship are mentioned in the Hittite Code,
200B; cf. R. Haase, ZA N.F. 19 (1959) pp.193ff; 20 (1961)
pp.103f; H. Kronasser, WZKM 57 (1961) pp.183ff.

81. See Ch. VII, pp. 261-3.

82. pp 255-8; 265f.

83. Even when, exceptionally, the territory was divided (in
the case of Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin; see below)
ultimate authority was in the hands of one brother.

84. On this text see Ch. VII. pp. 265f.

85. cf. d u m u -[✓]sa [✓]sa i-ra-am-mu (CH 150 21-22).
86. A number of omens, especially in the astrological series: Enuma Anu Enlil, refer to rebellions and usurpations by the king's sons, e.g. ACH. Suppl. XXXI 65; Suppl. II CXIX 42: Sin XXXIV IV 3 & passim; XXIV 31 and passim; KAR 423 I 20; CT 27 11b 10, etc., and to disputes among brothers over the succession, e.g. ACH. Suppl. II: XIII a II5; CT 27 25 30f.
87. On the significance of kīnu(m) "firm, stable, true, legitimate", see Ch. III below (pp. 127f.).
88. The circumstances of Esarhaddon's succession are not entirely clear, although the various sources agree that Sennacherib was assassinated by his son or sons (see OIP II 161f; 2 Kings 19:37; 2 Chron. 32:21). cf. discussion by M. Streck VAB 7 I CCXXXVII - CCXLIX.
89. Published by D. J. Wiseman, The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon, 1958, and Iraq 20 (1958) 1-99, Pls. 1-53. On these texts see below Ch. III pp. 156f.
90. ABL 1239. See below Ch. III p. 158.
91. See also VTE 69-70.
92. See G. Furlani, Rendiconti ANL 8/2 (1947) 191-206.
93. Unknown, possibly Adad-[✓]suma-ušur.
94. S. Ahmed suggests an alternative explanation of the writer's attitude, that he was aware of tensions existing between the two young princes. (AbrNahrain 6 [1965-6] 53-62, "Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-[✓]suma-ukin during Esarhaddon's Reign".) Another of Esarhaddon's sons, Sin-apla-iddina (the eldest?), was originally installed as crown prince but later died. See the prayer published AJSL 1914 75 256-70, No. 12, 1-12 and Ahmed, loc. cit.
95. cf. Asarh 27/2 i 8 [✓]sa [✓]š e [✓]š . m e [✓]š -ia g a l . m e [✓]š [✓]š e [✓]š -[✓]šū-nu ši-ih-ru a-na-ku "I was the youngest of all my elder brothers".
96. See Knudtzon, AGS II 107 (p. 218ff.) Note that Šamaš-[✓]suma-ukin's mother may have come from Babylonia, as suggested by L4 5-6 (Lehmann Ššmk II pp. 6-7; VAB 7 CLXXVff.)
97. d u m u XX [✓]šā é u [✓]š -ti [✓]šā k á . d i n g i r . r a . k i .
98. e.g. Aru 118; 120; 162; 202; 341; 377. Note especially 116 l 1 [✓]š a g [✓]šā d u m u l u g a l (ur)Babili, referring perhaps to Šamaš-[✓]suma-ukin.

99. cf. the letters in ABL addressed to the king's son, concerning religious festivals, e.g. ABL 65. Note also the LB text BM 35382 (published BA 2 214-215) which records that Cyrus sent his son Cambyses to perform the ritual of the New Year at Babylon. cf. also the appointment by Sennacherib of his eldest son, Aššur-nadin-šumi, as viceroy of Babylonia, OIP 2 p.76 (Smith, History, Bull Inscription), LL. 11-12.

100. ABL 10;189;430;445;885. See also the claim of Aššurbanipal in his inscription (L⁴ = Streck, Assurb p.254; i 28): ba-lu-u-a l ū . n a m ul ip-pa-qid l ū . g a r -nu ul iš-ša-kan ul-lar-nu-u-a "Without my approval no officer was instructed, no governor was appointed, unless I was consulted".

101. ABL 187.

102. Published by Lehmann, Šsmk No. 12, Aššur-mukin-paliya was made šēšgallu of a shrine, the name of which is not preserved, and Aššur-eṭil-šame-erṣeti-balašsu-iqbi was made šēšgallu of Sin at Harran.

103. e.g. Or2(1920) 32-51 (wives of Lugalanda and Urukagina); RA 52 (1958) 129f. (daughter of Sargon of Akkad); RA 24 (1927) 109f. (wife of Gudea); RA 23 (1926) 37 (daughter of Šep-Sin); Iraq 13 Pl. xiii-xiv (daughter of Kudur-Mabuk); UET 1 166f. (daughter of Adad-apla-iddina of Babylon). cf. B. Landsberger, OLZ 1931 c.129.

104. e.g. ADD 70 12 (Adiram, sister of Sennacherib's wife, Naqi'a/Zakutu); V.S 1 96 (Aru 655) 4: t a š a u r u š a d u m u . Š A l XX "(two people) belonging to the estate of the king's daughter". cf. also the reference to a son of king Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe of Babylon alongside royal officials as a witness in the boundary stone BBS 8 ii 26-27, and the MA eponym official (m)Be-ru-ti d u m u Šu . (d)I š k u r (Eriba-Adad) l u g a l k u r (d)A-šur, in KAH II 29 44-46.

105. There is evidence that a form of matrilineal succession was customary in the ^{Hittite}royal family during the Old Kingdom. See O. R. Gurney, CAH² II/XVa, pp.10-12.

106. See H. Goossens, "La Reine Šemiramis. De l'histoire à la légende" (= Mededeelingen, Ex Oriente Lux, No. 13; Leiden 1947). The circumstances that brought to the throne the semi-legendary Ku-baba, recorded in the Sumerian King List as founder of the third dynasty of Kish, a "female inkeeper", in the third millennium B.C., are obscure.

107. mār lā mammāna occurs once of a Babylonian usurper, in the Synchronistic King List: (md)I-š k u r . a . s u m -na a (m)É-sag-gil-KUR-ú-ni a la ma-ma-n[a], "Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esaggil-šaduni, son of a nobody". It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that there could be any connection between this Esaggil-šaduni and the man of the same name listed as a scribal ancestor in VR 44 L.60 [.....] x . h u r . s a g . m e . e n . x = (m)É-sag-gil-šad-du-ú-ni.

mār lā mammāna is often used by Assyrian kings of enemy rulers (e.g. AKA 254ff; Tigl. III 72, 15; Iraq 18 126:28). It is also used in the sense of "an insignificant person" in BWL 194 23, where the Fox describes himself as mār lā mammāna (ammini iāši mār lā mammāna tumarrasani), "Why do you plague me, insignificant creature that I am?" [addressed to the Wolf]). There are no other examples of its use in non-royal contexts.

108. After Išme-Dagan, the reigns of two more descendants of Šamši-Adad are mentioned in fragmentary King Lists from Asshur, but are omitted in the standard version of the King List (See H. Lewy, CAH²I/XXV, p.23).

109. Khors L. ii 4-5: (m)Aššur-du-gul d u m u la ma-ma-na la e n g i š . g u . z a, "Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody, not a holder of a throne". On the designation lā bēl kussi, see Poebel JNES 1 460-1.

110. These 6 kings (Aššur-apla-idi, Našir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Ištar, Adad-šalulu, and Adasi) are described as reigning "in the time of Aššur-dugul (ina tar-si (m)Aššur-du-gul-ma) and k á tup-pi-šu [ii 11], "at the entrance of his tuppu". The phrase ana tuppišu also occurs in iii 33 & 36 referring to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku. The phrase probably denotes a reign of less than a full year (see Rowton, CAH²I/VI p.33). Poebel, loc. cit., p.461ff, explains k á (Akk. bāb) tuppišu as "at the beginning of his tuppu", i.e. of the remaining part of the last regnal year of his predecessor's reign, and suggests that the statement is a contracted version of separate but identical accounts of the accession of each king with the addition of the total: 6 l u g a l . m e š -ni, L.10.

111. Khors. L. ii 22.

112. Grandson of Adasi; see p.67 below.

113. The main Babylonian King List (King List A, published CT 36 24-25, cf. J. B. Pritchard, ANET p.272f) collects the kings and reigns into groups under the name of a particular dynasty,

and only occasionally records the relationship between successive kings. Only King List B (published by P. Rost, MVAG 2/2 (1897) 240), which covers only the First Dynasty of Babylon, accurately describes each king as son of his predecessor.

114. The kings of the Adasi dynasty totalled at least 69 (to Sin-šarra-iškun), possibly 71 (to Aššur-uballiṭ II).

115. The numeration of the kings in the King List is that of Poebel JNES 1 247ff, employed also by others in discussing the King List.

116. In an inscription Ninurta-apal-Ekur describes himself as mār Eriba-Adad, see below Ch. VI.

117. Like Šamši-Adad I (Khors. L. i 41-42) and Ninurta-apal-Ekur (iii 28-29), Šamši-Adad IV is described as having come up from Karduniaš (Babylonia) in order to seize the throne. cf. also the deposition of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur (84) (Khors. L. iii 34-36): (m)Mu-tak-kil-(d)Nusku š e š -šu k i -šu i -duk a-na (kur)Kar-du-ni-āš e -bu-uk-šu tup-pi-šu (m)Mu-tak-kil-(d)Nusku g i š . g u . z a uk-ta-il k u r -a e -mid, "M., his brother, fought with him (and) deported (?) him to Babylonia; M. held the throne for his tuppu; then he went into exile". Poebel, (JNES 2, 61-64) suggests that ebukšu "carried him off", should be considered a scribal error for itrussu, "chased him away", on the basis of references in the letter IVR 34 No. 2, concerning Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur.

118. Interruptions of the normal course of succession are mentioned frequently in royal omens, see Ch. III n.29.

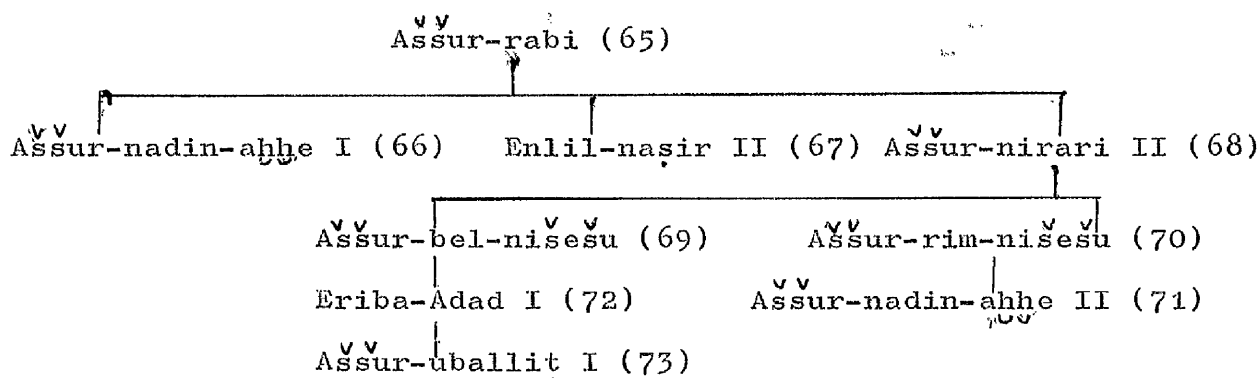
119. The King List (Khors. L. ii 34-35) records that Šamši-Adad III (59) was son of Išme-Dagan, brother of Šarma-Adad II (55). According to the King List, then, there was another Išme-Dagan who did not reign, besides the king of that name (58) who was son of Šamši-Adad II (Ibid 32-33). Landsberger (JCS 8 p.43 n.57) suggests tentatively that the King List should be emended here by the omission of aḫusu ša Šarma-Adad mār Kidin-Ninua, making Šamši-Adad III the son of his predecessor on the throne. His main reason is that according to his reconstruction the name Išme-Dagan would occur in two consecutive generations, violating the rule of papponymy (that names recur in alternating generations, lit. meaning "naming after the grandfather", from the Greek). While it is true that the custom of naming children after their grandparents existed among the Old Assyrians (see Lewy CAH² I/XXV p.9) and that there is no evidence of sons named

after their fathers before the LB period, there seems to be no justification for the assumption that a man could not have the same name as his father's brother. In the MA period two limmu-officials, one the son of the other's brother, were both called Abattu, (see KAJ 30;56;89). Landsberger also points out that Šamši-Adad III, in his authentic inscription IAK 28 IX, claims to be son of Išme-Dagan and that it was not usual for Assyrian kings to refer to a father who was not a king (cf. Eriba-Adad). The question must remain undecided, but it is unlikely that this is a case of usurpation as in a system of collateral succession, such as prevailed at this time (see below), the succession of a brother's son (possibly son of a deceased elder brother, though it seems unlikely that the name of Išme-Dagan would be given before that of Šamši-Adad, as Landsberger observes loc. cit.) would not be abnormal.

Another apparent example of abnormal succession of a brother recorded by the King List is that of Adad-Nirari I, who is described (Khors. L. iii 17) as š e š -šū ša (m) d i n g i r "brother of Arik-den-ili". This must be a scribal error, as Adad-nirari I describes himself in his inscriptions as "son of Arik-den-ili" (e.g. KAH I 3 L.15; d u m u A-ri-ik-di-en d i n g i r) as do those of Shalmaneser I, his son. (See Poebal, JNES 1 483f.)

120. For a survey of the evidence relating to collateral succession in general among the Hittites, Elamites and Babylonians, see Koschaker, ZA 41 = NF 7 (1933) 1-89.

121. The genealogy of kings 65-73, reconstructed on the basis of these inscriptions, may be shown diagrammatically thus:



It is possible that Assur-nadin-ahhe II was another brother of Assur-bel-nišešu, as Landsberger assumes, JCS 8, p.43.

122. Excluding the usurper, Lullaya (No. 53), the total number of kings for the period is 25, the total number of generations 12, giving an average of slightly more than two kings for each

generation of the dynasty. The material is conveniently summarised in tabular form by Landsberger, loc. cit., p.44f.

123. Such a system of royal succession is known in other societies, particularly certain African societies, where it may be combined with either a patrilineal or a matrilineal descent system, e.g. among Shona (S. Rhodesia) chieftains of most tribes, where inheritance follows the (male) lineal line (H. Kuper, The Shona in Ethnographic Survey of Africa: South Africa, Pt IV p.23); the Kede chiefs (N. Nigeria), see Meyer Fortes & E. E. Evans-Pritchard, African Political Systems (1940), p.177; among the Bemba of N. E. Rhodesia a system of collateral succession is combined with a matrilineal descent system, royal status passing first to younger brothers, then to sisters' sons, finally to daughters' sons of younger brothers, Ibid, p.100. For the succession of sisters' sons in Elam, see Koschaker, Loc. cit. (n.120), pp.54-60. These systems are rarely complete in practice, because of biological factors and rivalries, especially between generations. Therefore, the Assyrian succession may well on some occasions have followed the line of a younger brother, as certainly appears to have been the case with Assur-rabi I (65), who is recorded by the King List as having deposed his predecessor, Assur-šaduni, (Khors. L. ii 45 46).

124. Total of 30 kings for 12 generations. See Landsberger, loc. cit., p.44f.

125. See above, n.54, for references to māru(m)rābū(m), implying special privileges in OB texts from N. Babylonia, and aplu rābū in a similar context in Aru 41. cf. also penalties in NA contracts referring to the sacrifice of the eldest son or daughter, e.g. AO 2221 (Aru 41); ADD 474 (Aru 96a); ADD 310 (Aru 158a); ADD 436 (Aru 163).

126. Or ahu(m)rābū(m) (e.g. in references to the preferential portion, also CT 8 37d 8; UAZP 8 12, quoted above n.39) or even occasionally aplu(m) rābū(m) e.g. Meissner BAP 95 8; Aru references in previous note; see p.43.

127. cf. BE 6/2 24 1-2: I₁.š e š . g a l ù I₂.š e š . a . n i; ARK 9 2-5: A₁. d u m u A₂. š . A₃.me-er-ú A₂.ù a-ha-sú-nu K. , "A₁, son of A₂, š (and) A₃, sons of A₂, and their sister K."

128. In Nuzi a Hurrian loan-word ewuru means "heir", perhaps in a special sense, since it is used only of adopted sons, e.g. HSS 5 60 12-15; 67 14-15; JEN 392 10-11, 14; cf. JAOS 55 429ff (Pl. I) 10 for abstr. e-wu-ru-ti-šú. See also kudurru

in Glossary.

129. Also tardennu(m) terdû; f. tardennitu(m).

130. Also tuppussû See in general on these terms Koschaker,,
ZA 41 pp. 63f.

131. e.g. Antagal III 9-11: b u l u g , g a l = šeš-gal-lum,
ú s . . s a = tar-den-nu, d u b . . ú s . . s a = dup-pu-su-ú.

For evidence of the blurring of the distinction between
the two terms, see especially Theodicy Commentary (IT
41 41 r.12: dup-pu-us-su-u = tar-den-nu). See also ahurrû,
talimu(m) in Glossary.

132. e.g. Theodicy, (BWL p.84) 247-8: i-lak-kid lab-bi^v ra-bi
a-hi u-ru-uh-su i-li-is-ma dup-pu-us-su-ú pa-ra-a i-rid-di
"The elder brother rushes along like a lion, (while) the
younger brother enjoys driving the mule" (cf. ll. 249-50,
quoted above, p. 90.); Layard 91 (Shalm. III) 73-4: M.
XX (kur) Kar-du-ni-aš M. š e š du-pu-us-su-ú it-ti-šû
ib-bal-kit "Marduk-bel-šate, his younger brother, re-
belled against Marduk-nadib-šumi, king of Babylon"; OIP
2 41 v. 14-6: e g i r -šû U. la ra-aš tē-me u mil-ki
š e š -šû dup-pu-us-su-ú i-na g i š . gu . z a -šû
ú-šib-ma "After him (Kutur-Nahunte) Uman-menanu, a man
without reason or judgement, his younger brother, suc-
ceeded him on the throne"; VAB 4 62 111 10 (= ZA NF 4 133f
111 126): N. bu-uk-ra ri-eš-tu-u na-ra-am li-ib-bi-ia...
N. ta-li-im-šû še-ir-ram si-it li-ib-bi-ia tu-up-pu-su-um
da-šû-ú-a "Nebuchadrezzar, the firstborn son, beloved of
my heart Nabu-šumu-lišir, his companion-brother, my
very own child, the younger brother, my favourite". For
tuppussû = "second place or rank", see CAD Vol. 3 188f.

133. This is clearly the case where it occurs in the pl. (LB),
e.g. RA 41 99-103, LL 11-3: ina li-bi l g u r l pi š e .
n u m u n pu-ut h a . l a š a B. d u m u -šû g a l -ú
š a tak-nu-uk-ma pa-ni š . u B. d u m u . m e š -šû
tar-den-ni-e tu-šad-gi-lu "Concerning l. g u r l pi of
arable land, jointly held property in the name (see n.40)
of B., her eldest son, for which she executed a sealed
document (lit. "she sealed") and (which she) presented to
Š. and B., her younger sons."; Nbn 65 9-12: (1½ minah
6 shekels of silver belonging to G.) š a i-na la a-š a-bi
š a E. G. a-na d u m u . m e š -šû tar-den-ni(pl) a-na
N. N. I. u A. ta-zi-zi "... which, in the absence of E.
(her eldest son), G. apportioned to her younger sons, N.,
N.2, I. and A.". tardennu seems to mean "second son"
in EBS 9 iva 19-20: "K., his eldest son, M., the second son,

(and) A., his third son" (associated with father in transaction), (K. d u m u -[√]s u g a l -i M. tar-den-nu A. [√]sal-sa-a-a); probably also in KAH I 43 4-5. As an adjective in general, tardennu, f. tardennitu(m) (see Hh IV [MSL]V 78), means "secondary, of lesser importance", especially with reference to the (naptan) tardennu, "lesser meal" (of the gods) as opposed to (naptan) rābū, "main meal". e.g. RAcc. p.62 (AO 6451) obv. 6-7; p.64 (AO 6451) r.21; p.67 (AO 6459) r.8; p.69 (AO 6460) r.30, and passim in L.B. ritual texts from Uruk.

134. Such a scale may have existed at Nuzi. See possibly HSS 5 67 10-11: ū [√]š. te-ir-te-en-nu ki g i r -[√]su-ma h a . l a . m e s i-leg-gi, "(If the adoptive father gets a son, he will count as the eldest [and] will take a double share), in that case [√]š. (the adoptive son) will count as second son and will take shares according to his "footing" (i.e. status as second son, see OLZ 1932 p.401; Cassin, Symboles, p.129 and n.2; E. Lacheman, JBL 56 (1937) 56.) So also HSS 5 21: 8-10; 73: 16-17, and passim.

135. See above 2:1.

136. e.g. Šurpu II 36; Aru 96a (ADD 474) 17; Aru 158 (ADD 310) 28; Aru 163 (ADD 436) 20-21; as a title of royal princesses: Hallo, Inanna p.18, L.41; VAB 7 p.392 r.1.

137. e.g. RA 61 127f; UAZP 3; ADD 40 (Aru 208) where a sister is sold by her brother. Such instances of fraternal authority are far more frequent in the Nuzi documents, which include numerous examples of adoptions of males ana abūti (into brotherhood) e.g. JEN 99: 1,4; 87: 1,4; and of females ana abātūti ("into sisterhood") e.g. JEN 78 1; 4 23; HSS 5 26: 6,11; RA 23 109; 31: 3; AASOR 16: 54,13. cf. P. Koschaker, ZA 41 28ff; Cassin, Adoption 311f; H. Lewy, Or 9 (1940) 362-73.

138. e.g. (NA) ADD 377 (Aru 399) 15; ADD 385 (Aru 194) 27; cf. VS I (Aru 539) 100: witnesses: PN and PN2 p a b -u-[√]s u.

139. cf. Sum. proverb: [√]s e [√]s . g a l a . a . n a . n a m, "The elder brother is really a father" TCL 16 Pl. 93 1 1-3.

140. Note also that duppussu appears to be derived from Sum. d u b . [√]u s . s a (See Antagal III 11 in n.131 above), suggesting perhaps that rigid distinctions of seniority among brothers were a characteristically Sumerian institution.

141. e.g. P. Koschaker, ZA 41 (1933) p.63.

142. See Antagal III 10 in n.131 above and the logogram k i . u [√]s

in Hb IV (MSL 5) 78, (Sum. U Š[√] = Akk. redû). For the form (-an with "hypocoristic-diminutive" significance) see GAG 56r. (the form terdû occurs only in ExpMalku I 193).

143. cf. French cadet < Lat. capitettus "little chief". The semantic connection could conceivably consist simply in the fact that the junior is born later than the senior and follows him in time, cf. French puiné(e) < *puis né(e).

144. See Ch. IV, and especially on the role of the heir. In traditional Chinese society the eldest brother inherited a larger amount than his brothers specifically to cover the expenses of ancestor worship, which was performed at the eldest brother's house. (See M. Freedman, Lineage Organization, 22-23; 25.)

145. e.g. BE 6/2 26 I 15; 32 3; 43 3. See R. T. O'Callaghan, JCS 8 (1954) 137-141.

146. cf. references to asirtu(m)/esertu(m): z a g . g a r . r a, "sanctuary" in connection with private houses, e.g. TCL 11 174 14 (OB); IAK 48 35 (MA); and especially in omens, e.g. CT 38 17 97; 40 15 9-10 (both Alu).

147. See Ch. IV.

148. e.g. BBS 3 i 1-3; ii 34-35; iv 32-33, where the estate of T., which had "become heirless" (m u . n u . t u g = munutuk-ûta(-ta)il-lik-ku, i 3) or "had no heir" (m u . n u . t u g = munutuke(-e), ii 34-35; iv 32-33) was assigned by the king to a brother (or "kinsman"?) of T; cf. NSGU 83; 180.

149. i b i l a z a h u š -su é . g a l u š (Akk. aplu ipalliq redussu ekallu ireddi), "The heir will disappear, (and) the palace will inherit his inheritance". Note also the OB documents HG 1741 (= PSBA 34 Pl. 8, No. 111); VAB 6 229 16, where estates whose "hearth was extinguished" (see Ch. IV pp. 165-6) fell to the state. (See Driver, BabL I p. 329ff; Koschaker in Ebert, Reallexikon III p. 115.

150. Note the reversion of the dowry to the wife's father in the event of her dying childless (see above 1:23) and in particular CH 163-4, where the husband is entitled to reclaim his "bride-money" (tirhatum) from his father-in-law under these circumstances, implying that the contract is reversed. cf. also the very severe sanctions against abortion in MAL A 53 (where the offender is to be impaled and left unburied, even if she has died as a result of her offence).

151. e.g. CH 138-40, note L.16 ša d u m u . m e š la ul-du-
sum "who has not borne him sons". CH does not in fact mention
the position of an ordinary wife who has borne sons, though
137 allows a šugētum or nadītum who has borne or otherwise
provided sons substantial maintenance and even apparently care
of the children. cf. also LE No. 59 (Ch. I n.130).

152. Many Nuzi marriage contracts allow for the taking of a
second wife in such circumstances, e.g. RA 23 145 No. 12 7-9;
HSS 19 84 9.

153. On adoption in general see M. David, Die Adoption im
altbabylonischen Recht, 1927; Mendelsohn, BA 11/2 (1958) p.38
and above 1:2:2, p.78.

154. See above ChI 1:3, p.35.

155. e.g. BIN 7 206.

156. The distinction between real and adoptive sons, though of
no legal importance, was clearly expressed in Akk. terminology.
(See Appendix:1.) See also the letter from a schoolboy to his
mother, complaining that a schoolmate is better treated by
his adoptive mother than he is by his own mother, TCL 18 3
(Oppenheim, Letters from Mesopotamia, 1967, p.85).

157. See Mendelsohn, loc. cit., p.23.

158. A fairly common custom in patrilineal societies, e.g.
Japan (See C. Nakane, Kinship and Economic Organization in
Rural Japan (1967) 4), Turkey (see R. Stirling, Turkish Village
(1965) 42-43). Note the institution known from ancient Greece
(see J. H. Lipsius, Das Attische Recht (1905) 542-7) and Rome,
traditional Arab society, and O.T. Israel (e.g. Ezra 2:61;
Chr. 2:34-35) by which the daughter of a man who died without
a son had to marry his nearest agnate, who inherited the estate.
There is no evidence of such an institution in Mesopotamia.

159. e.g. NSGU 18 204 LL. 14-21, and discussion I 106-108.
cf. 169: 17-23; 26: 2-8.

160. xv 40-51 (AJA 52, pp.439-40): [.....] i n . t u k u
n í g . b a é . a d . d a . n a . k a b a . a n . n a . b a .
a i b i l a . n i . i m b a . a n . t u m u t u k u m . b i
a d . d a . t i l . l a d u m u . S A L . a . n i . i r
n i n . d i n g i r l u k u r ũ n u . g i g . h é . a
i b i l a . g i m . n a m é . n i t u š . e . d é , "[....] he
[married]; the gift of her father's house, which was presented
to (her), as her heir he shall take. If the father is living,

his daughter who is a priestess, naditum or hierodule, shall live in his house like an heir". The context of these clauses is unfortunately lost. It is noteworthy that the son-in-law's inheritance is described as a "gift" of the father to his daughter, not as an automatic inheritance. cf. also 29 (AJA 52 p.442) m u s s a . t u r e . u r 7 . r a . n a . k a i . i n . tu, "The son-in-law has entered his father-in-law's house". (11.40-4)

161. See Hwb. I p.66b. (Note also errebu in L.17, abstr. from errebu(m) "new household member", which is sometimes equated with arbu in later lexical lists, possibly in error; see Hwb. I p.243b. Compare with errebu, Hitt. antiyant < a n d a i i a n t "coming in", C. Hitt. 36.

162. LL. 30-31: [a-n]a ah-hu-ti-su u-ter-su, "he has adopted him into his agnatic kin" emphasises the special nature of such a marriage. This action on the part of a young man would no doubt be dictated by economic factors.

163. Except in Nuzi, e.g. RA 23 p.126-7, No. 51; HSS 5 67; possibly also 57. On the evidence for the very different institution of beena-marriage see above, Ch. I 2:2:2, p.44.

164. MAL A 30, 33 and 43 have been interpreted as illustrating the levirate in Assyria, but, as Driver and Miles point out, AssL p.248, all these cases in which the marriage contract is fulfilled by the father or brother of the deceased bridegroom can be explained in the context of marriage ana kallatuti (discussed above, Ch. I, 2:2:2), and it is clear from these and other sections that there was neither a right nor a duty in such cases. Similarly MAL A 31, which suggests the sororate (by which a man has a right to marry his deceased wife's sister), can be explained in terms of marriage ana kallatuti. MAL A 46 suggests that a son had a right to marry a second wife (urkittu) of his deceased father, other than his mother.

165. 193 of the Hittite Code. See J. Price "The so-called Levirate-Marriage in Hittite and Assyrian Laws" Oriental Studies (Paul Haupt Anniversary Volume) 1926.

166. e.g. Gen. 38, 8; Deut. 25,5; Ruth 3-5. See M. Burrows, "The Ancient Oriental Background of Hebrew Levirate Marriage" in BASOR 77 (1940) pp.2-15; H. H. Rowley, "The Marriage of Ruth" in HTR 40 (1947) pp.77-99.

167. For an OB example of land remaining in a family (and documents kept) over at least 125 years, see F. R. Kraus, JCS 3 (1951) 149-156 (family of Ninlil-zimu). See also Ch. V 1:3

and bīt abi(m) in Glossary. The relatively ephemeral nature of success in business is suggested by archives of great business houses, which rarely span more than three generations.

C H A P T E R T H R E E

The Mesopotamian Experience of Descendants

The previous chapter attempted to outline the practical aspects of the continuous process of recruitment and transmission by kinship groups, and demonstrated the central importance of patrilineal inheritance and succession in Mesopotamian society. The institutions described in Ch. II provide the background against which the subject of Mesopotamian man's relationship with his descendants and ascendants must be studied. For the purposes of the following chapters "descendants" and "ascendants" will be understood as meaning descendants and ascendants beyond the generations of possible contemporaries, though relationships with descendants and ascendants cannot be examined in isolation from living relationships with children and grandchildren, parents and grandparents.

The relationship between individual households and their descendants and ascendants was the centre of a more diffuse relationship felt to exist by the wider community⁽¹⁾ with future and past generations. Hence the experience of descendants and ascendants is interwoven into the contexture of written and oral traditions that constituted the Mesopotamian sense of history. The subject of Mesopotamian historiography⁽²⁾ is too vast to be discussed at length, but the wider context of historical tradition will frequently have to be referred to in the following discussion.

Just as in the course of a lifetime the same person may fill the roles of child and parent, so an individual at a point in history is both descendant and potential ascendant. Because the following chapters are concerned with phenomena of subjective experience, the two sides of the relationship are

treated in isolation and the separate roles of descendants and ascendants in each other's lives will be examined in isolation. But because the roles are complementary the same basic concepts should be found operative, with minor differences of emphasis.

The present chapter will be devoted to a study of the Mesopotamian experience of descendants and its characteristic expression in Mesopotamian culture during the period covered by this thesis. The evidence available is limited by comparison with that for ascendants, for the obvious reason that the ascendants of an individual had a real identity in the past, and therefore much more could be said about them than about his descendants, whose very existence was a matter for speculation.

In fact references to descendants fall largely within certain clearly defined categories of texts, namely monuments and contracts (according to the definitions given below of these categories), contexts in which obligations are laid upon them by their ascendants. These texts will be examined in the second part of the chapter.

A wider variety of sources express the desire for posterity. The practical measures available to Mesopotamian householders in the event of childlessness were discussed in the final section of Ch. II. The first section of the present chapter will deal with the cultural expressions of the desire for offspring and the ways in which it illustrates the attitudes towards descendants.

1. Cultural Expressions of the Desire for Offspring

1:1 The Sources

The sources which attest to the desire for offspring fall largely within the category of religious texts⁽³⁾, which are the best sources available for the underlying assumptions of Mesopotamian thought in all fields. The most direct insight

into the range of hopes and fears prominent in the experience of individuals is provided by omen texts, but because these express the immediate short-term needs of the individual, they are less useful for this investigation than certain other types of religious texts, notably curses, blessings, dedications of buildings and statues, prayers and hymns. Another useful source is provided by personal names, the majority of which express in religious terms sentiments relating to the birth of a child. In all these sources references to offspring are found sufficiently often to allow useful comparisons to be made.

The form in which the ideas under examination are expressed in these sources is determined by the belief that personal fortune was affected by divine action, which could be influenced to some degree by rituals, accompanied by prayer.⁽⁴⁾

1:2 Omens and Personal Names

Omens concerning the birth and progress of children and personal names are two closely similar types of evidence, because both arose out of the urge to modify and control the forces which brought sterility, infant mortality or the dissolution of the household. The choice of a name was in itself a propitious action, working to allay the forces threatening offspring. This is expressly stated in the omen K 1350⁽⁵⁾ L.70, which predicts concerning a baby boy or girl on whom a snake lies: m u t u g -ši n í g . t u g, "His name will be wealth", and continues: a d -šú u a m a -šú á . t u g i g i . m e s, "His father and mother will gain in wealth". When Esarhaddon (Assur-aba-iddina, "Assur-has-given-a-brother") was made his father's associate in ruling the Assyrian empire, he was given the more auspicious name of Assur-etil-mukin-apli ("Assur-the-Princely-is-the-one-who-establishes-the-Heir"⁽⁶⁾ ABL 1452 r.1-3). Omens and personal names do in fact show parallels in terminology and in underlying concepts.⁽⁷⁾

Omens⁽⁸⁾

According to the subject of the prediction, omens may be classified into two categories-

- (a) Private, concerning the welfare of private persons.
- (b) Public, concerning the welfare of king and/or community.⁽⁹⁾

Private Omens⁽¹⁰⁾

The subject of childbirth⁽¹¹⁾ takes its place in private omens, alongside length of life, wealth, status and physical and mental health, sufficiently often to be judged an important preoccupation in everyday life. In common with these and other subjects of prediction,⁽¹²⁾ the birth of offspring is, of course, of almost universal interest to most persons in most societies; it is the way in which the interest in offspring is expressed in omen texts which must be examined to understand the significance of offspring to the Babylonians and Assyrians.

(a) The Desire for Offspring in General

Predictions attesting to the unqualified desire for children are very frequent, and supplement the evidence of the attitude to infertile marriage discussed in the previous chapter. A few examples are given in illustration:

YOS 10 17 40 (OB): la wa-li-it-tum ul-la-ad "the barren woman will give birth"; CT 30 80a obv. 5 (SB) la a-lit-ti ul-lad ; Dreams A r.iii 2 + 1, 15; TDP XXXV, passim; KAR 195 32 : nu ù.tu "she will not give birth".

(b) The Desire for Male Offspring

Many predictions are qualified by reference to offspring as "sons", "daughters" or "heirs". References to māre⁽¹³⁾ (pl.)

are of uncertain interpretation in this respect, as it would be possible to understand the term in the sense of "children", including sons and daughters.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is even possible that *d u m u*⁽¹⁵⁾ could mean "child" in such contexts, though there is no evidence to support this meaning. In some contexts, where the future career of the child is predicted,⁽¹⁶⁾ there is a strong presumption, in view of the predominance of males in Mesopotamian society, that a son is meant.

Where, however, reference is made to "males" (*u š . m e š* = *zikarē*(pl.)), to "females" (*S A L . m e š* = *sinnisāte*(pl.)), to "daughters" (*d u m u . S A L . m e š* = *marāte*(pl.)), or to an "heir" (*i b i l a* = *aplu*(m)), there is no problem of interpretation.

In some of these contexts the prospect of male or of female offspring is treated neutrally, (e.g. *Dreambook* p.322 13-14: *d u m u . m e š d u m u . S A L . m e š [t u k]/* *n[u t u k]*, "He will/will not have sons and daughters".

In others, however, a preference for males is evident, e.g. *CT* 39 45 23-4: *d i š . l ú ina har-ba-ti t e (iṭehhi) d a m -su S A L . m e š ù . t u . m e š d i š l ú ina š ā a . š ā u g i š . S A R t e d a m -su u š . m e š ù . t u . m e š*, "If he has intercourse with his wife on barren ground, they will have girls; if he has intercourse with his wife in a field or garden, they will have boys". The association between human and plant fertility is evident here, and fertility means not simply the bearing of children, but in particular the bearing of male children.⁽¹⁷⁾ *ABRT* I 4 13 dwells on the misfortune of having a family of girls: *S A L . m e š it-ta-na-al-la-du-ma u š ia-'nu-ma*, "Girls will keep on being born and not one boy". The oil-omen *CT* 5 4⁽¹⁸⁾ predicts for the same sign: *aš-ti a-wi-lim zi-ka-ra-am ul-la-ad* "The man's wife will give birth to

a boy" and: "the sick man will recover".

(c) The Desire for Heirs

It can hardly be doubted that the special concern to have male offspring is connected with the system of patrilineal inheritance. Indeed many omens refer explicitly to the birth of an "heir", e.g. CT 38 13 (Alu 5) 88: d i s é in-di g i s̄ .
u r ua-mu-ud l u b i i b i l a u l t u g -si (iraššī),

"If a house is propped up by a beam, that man will not have an heir"; TBP 7 11: i b i l a za-kir m u t u g -si, "He will have an heir, a caller of his name"⁽¹⁹⁾; or a "legitimate heir"

⁽²⁰⁾
(aplu(m) kīnu(m)), e.g. TBP 24 r.4: i b i l a g i . n a t u g -si; Dreams, p.322 11: i b i l a [t u g -si]; 18 i b i l a g i . n a . (dreams about cylinder seals).

(d) The Desire for Posterity

The symbolic connection of the cylinder seal,⁽²¹⁾ the sign of individual identity, with heirs in the last-mentioned group of omens is very interesting. The connecting link may have been the concept of the name (Akk. sumu(m)) as symbolising a person's identity.⁽²²⁾ L.24 confirms this interpretation: d i s̄ n a₄ . k i s̄ i b m u -su s u m -su m u u n u m u n t u g -si, "If a seal bearing his name is given him (in his dream), he will have name and seed". The terms sumu(m) "name" and zēru(m) "seed" occur frequently in curses, blessings and similar contexts, often together or in combination with other terms for posterity (pir'u(m), išdu(m), lillidu, nannabu)⁽²³⁾ and are also common in personal names. In all these contexts sumu(m) appears to carry the meaning of "male posterity". The importance of the preservation of the written name on monuments and of the spoken

name in the ancestor cult as perpetuating the social identity of the individual beyond the term of his natural life will be shown in later sections of this thesis.

The significance of zēru(m) should likewise become clear in the course of later discussions and is central to the Mesopotamian concept of lineage. It seems to mean essentially that which links a group of male descendants to their common ancestor, rather like the English concept of "blood", and could be translated approximately as "posterity", "line", or "lineage" (in the colloquial usage of this term, i.e. without any connotations of "lineage group" as a corporate group with defined limits in space and time).

The use of these terms is rare in omens as compared with personal names, curses and blessings, but their occurrence in a type of text which, by its very nature, reflects the most urgent preoccupations of every-day life, suggests that these concepts were in fact central to Mesopotamian thinking on the subject of offspring.⁽²⁴⁾

Public Omens⁽²⁵⁾

Predictions in public omens deal with matters affecting the community, such as harvests, famine, epidemics, population, war and rebellion. They may refer to events affecting the community directly or to events affecting the king and his household, whose wellbeing was essential to that of the community.⁽²⁶⁾

A number of NA astrological omens refer to births among the population in general, e.g. RMA 98 r.2-3: ina m u b i SA h . p e ^v s₄ . m e ^v s u ^v s . [m e ^v s ū .] . t u . m e ^v s (Akk. gloss: e-ra-a-ti zak-ka-[ri. ul]-la-da), "In that year pregnant women will give birth to boys".

A large number of omens are centred on the person of the king, whether concerned with public matters in which the king played a role, such as wars or rebellions, or personal matters, such as occur in private omens, but of public significance, e.g.

length of life, health and childbirth. There are fewer examples in the omen literature preserved of predictions of the birth of children to the king than to private persons, possibly because the king was in a better position to provide against childlessness, as he could support a large harem.⁽²⁷⁾ Such examples as there are show the same concern as private omens with male sex and legitimacy, e.g. YOS 10 11 v.13: aš-sa-at sar-ri-im zi-ka-r[a-a]m ul-la-ad, "the king's wife will give birth to a boy"; CT 27 37⁽²⁸⁾24: i b i l a g i . n a ina é l u g a l . t u g -si, "There will be a legitimate heir in the king's household".

In addition a number of public omens are concerned with interruptions of the normal course of succession.⁽²⁹⁾

Personal Names⁽³⁰⁾

The majority of personal names are phrases and sentences expressing emotions and aspirations aroused by the birth of a child. Even if a name were chosen because it was popular and not because it was appropriate to the case, the very popularity of the name may be evidence bearing on the collective ideas of the period.

A very large number of names have kinship terms among their component elements.⁽³¹⁾ Of these, the only type relevant to this investigation⁽³²⁾ is the phrase expressing gratitude for the birth of the child or hopes for its wellbeing, forming in fact^a brief hymn or prayer to a deity. Names constructed on a pattern DN - (kinship term) - (verb preterite or precative) were extremely popular from the middle of the 2nd millenium onwards in both Babylonia and Assyria. A few examples⁽³³⁾ are:

(MB) Ea-mukīn-zēri, "Ea-is-the-one-who-establishes-'seed'", APN 72b; Ea-kudurra-ibnī[^], "Ea-has-created-the-eldest-son", 72 b; Marduk-kudurra-usur, "O-Marduk, -protect-the-eldest-son" 131a; Kāssu-kīn-apla^{vv} "O-Kāssu-establish-the-heir", 113a; Nabū-šumu-lībur^v, "O-Nabu-may-the -'name'-be-well" 161a.
(MA) Ašur-apla-iddina (Eigennamen 21); Ašur-bēl-apli (Ibid 22); Samaš-šuma-usur^v (Ibid 86); Adad-zēra-iqīša, "Adad-has-bestowed-'seed'" (Ibid 12); Šeru'a-nādin-šumi^v (Ibid 87).

(NB) Ninurta-kudurra-usur, APN 175a-b; Nabū-zēru-līšir^v, "O-Nabu-may-the-'seed'-prosper" 164b; Nabū-apla-usur, 145a-b; Bēl-šuma-līškun^v, "Bel-has-set-up-a-'name'", 62a; (NA) Sīn-šuma-iddina "Sin-has-given-a-'name'"; APN 202a, Adad-šāpik-zēri, "Adad-is-the-one-who-pours-out-seed" 11a ; Sīn-pir'a-ukīn "Sin-has-established fruit" 200b.

In this type of name the newborn child, always male, is

denoted by the terms: ṣumu, zēru, pir'u, kudurru and aplu. The ordinary kinship term for "son", māru, is used only in a very few, doubtful, cases⁽³⁴⁾, while mārtu, "daughter", does not occur in such names. The terms ṣumu(m) and zēru(m) were discussed in the previous section. aplu(m) is the normal term for "heir" at all periods. kudurru is a very rare term, borrowed from the Elamite language.⁽³⁵⁾ pir'u(m) "offshoot" is common in curses and blessings of potential offspring, but is also used of existing offspring in genealogical statements, applied to the relationship of the speaker to a remote ancestor.⁽³⁶⁾

It has been suggested⁽³⁷⁾ that aplu, ṣumu and zēru in personal names refer only to the eldest son. aplu(m) clearly has the specialised meaning of eldest son in some OB and MB texts.⁽³⁸⁾ There are, however, examples of a number of brothers with names including aplu, ṣumu, and zēru⁽³⁹⁾ and, as in these cases only one could be the eldest son, this cannot be considered a universally applicable rule for all three terms. The fact that the plural of aplu(m) (normal in other contexts⁽⁴⁰⁾ because of the partible inheritance system) does not occur in personal names may suggest the application of this term to one son in particular, but this negative argument is not conclusive. In Ch. II⁽⁴¹⁾ it was pointed out that the birth of the first son would have a special significance for the parents, regardless of any special role in the inheritance system, so that it would not be surprising if names of this type, expressing aspirations to posterity, were more usually applied to eldest sons.⁽⁴²⁾ Further investigation of the distribution of these names among known groups of brothers would perhaps help to clarify this point.

A considerable number of personal names of all periods (Oakk onwards) contain the element kn (kunnu(m), kinu(m)).⁽⁴³⁾ This root expresses the characteristic Mesopotamian concept of stability in various fields (physical, cosmological, moral,

political, social)⁽⁴⁴⁾ and is often associated with išdu(m)
"bottom, root, foundation" in all contexts, including names.⁽⁴⁵⁾
Qualifying aplu(m) (less often maru(m)), kīnu(m) seems to mean
"properly established, genuine, rightful", i.e. "legitimate".
The frequency of this term and of the verbal form kunnu in
personal names parallels the concern of omens with the acquiring
of a child who will be a legitimate heir.

The use of išdu(m)⁽⁴⁶⁾ in personal names is perhaps the clearest
metaphorical expression of the concept that appears to lie
behind all the names discussed here, that immediate offspring
were valued not simply for their immediate advantages, but also
as a source of future descendants. The newborn child was the
foundation on which the future would be built or the root out
of which future generations would grow. This concept of offspring
as containing the germ of the future is far more strongly in
evidence in personal names than in omens.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The great increase
in names of this type from the MB/MA period suggests an increase
in the desire for posterity.

The imagery used to express this concept is more fully
developed in the literary contexts which are examined in the
following section.

1:3 Curses, Blessings, Prayers and Dedications

Curses, blessings, prayers and dedications are closely
related genres, both in function and in content. Curses as a
source will be dealt with separately, because they express in
negative terms ideas which blessings, prayers and dedications
express in positive terms.

1:3:1 Curses against descendants⁽⁴⁸⁾

Background

Curses are almost always part of an inscription intended
to be permanent and public.⁽⁴⁹⁾ They invoke divine punishment⁽⁵⁰⁾ on
anyone who should deface or alter the inscription, move the

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monument, disregard the contents of the inscription, or otherwise fail in his duty towards the person commemorated by the inscription. Because they are concerned with the preservation of a monument after the death of its author, curses more than any other source discussed in this section, are relevant to Mesopotamian concepts of continuity with the future.

This discussion is concerned primarily with curses against the descendants of the victim and curses of barrenness and impotence. Examples occur at all periods, but there are many examples of long curses which do not mention the victim's posterity. Occasionally a curse of this type occurs in isolation in an inscription,⁽⁵¹⁾ but more commonly it occurs as part of a series, alongside such misfortunes as sickness (especially dropsy and leprosy), short life, famine, drought, barrenness of land, blockage of canals and destruction by enemies. The position of curses against posterity in relation to these other curses varies in an apparently arbitrary manner in different inscriptions.

Terminology

What is most immediately striking in the terminology of curses against descendants at all periods is its uniformity. The same vocabulary and combinations recur from the OAk. to the NB period. The most common terms for "descendants" at all periods are šumu(m) "name" and zeru(m) "seed", e.g. (OAKk.) UET 1 276ii 20-21: u š ū m u [a]i-ti-na-šuh,⁽⁵²⁾ "May (two deities) not give him male (offspring) and posterity"; (OB) CHEpilogue 45-49: su-ma-am a šu-sar-si-su i-na qir-bi-it ni-ši-su n u m u n a-wi-lu-tim a ib-ni, "May (Nintu) not let him have posterity; may she not create human offspring in the midst of his people; (MB) BBS 4 iv 8: ša-a-su m u -su ū n u m u n -su a-a šab-šu-u, "May (the gods) not let him have posterity and descendants"; BBS 6 ii 6: ū a-di a n -e ū k i ba-šu-u n u m u n -su li-ih-liq, "May his descendants vanish

for as long as heaven and earth exist"; (MA) AKA p.11 r.34-5⁽⁵³⁾
 m u -šu n u m u n -šu el-la-su ù ki-im-ta-šu i-na k u r lu-hal-
 li-qu, "May (the Great Gods) make his posterity, his descendants,
 his clan and his kin⁽⁵⁴⁾ disappear from the land"; (NB) MDP 6 pp.
 38-9⁽⁵⁵⁾ vi 24: m u -šu li-hal (AN!)-li-qu, "May (the gods) wipe
 out his posterity"; (NA) PEA 18 vi 50: m u -šu n u m u n -šu
 ina k u r lu-[hal-li-qu], "May (the Great Gods) wipe out his
 posterity and his descendants in the land"; MVAG 1903 19ff. (Aru
 46)14-15: m u -šu t a (k u r) Aš-šur [li-h]al-li-qu, "May
 (Bel and Nabu) wipe out his posterity from Assyria"⁽⁵⁶⁾

pir'u(m), "offshoot", is also common in curses of most
 periods, e.g. (OAKk) MSP IV 158 (see MAD 3 p.217)⁽⁵⁷⁾: bi-ri-šu ù
šu!-um!-šu, "([May the gods destroy]) his offspring and his
 posterity; (MB) MDP 2 109f. vii 12-13: š e . n u m u n ù pi-
 ir-a a-a ù-šar-ši-šu, "May (Ninurta) not let him have descendants
 and offspring"; (NA) KAH 2 122 (OIP 2 p.139) 71-2: m u -šu
 n u m u n -šu n u n u z -šu ù na-an-nab-šu ina nap-har k u r .
 k u r li-hal-li-qu, "May (Aššur) wipe out his posterity, his
 descendants, his offspring and his fruit in the totality of
 lands"⁽⁵⁸⁾

Curses against descendants are generally composed of more
 than one formula directed to a single deity or group of deities.
 The characteristic combination of the OAKk period is: išdiš
lissuhū (ū) zēriš lilqutū, "May they tear up his root and
 gather up his seed", e.g. Afo 20 p.55 39-45⁽⁵⁹⁾ and passim; MDP
 6 p.8ff⁽⁶⁰⁾ and passim; MDP 2 and 6 (see MAD 3 p.310 for further
 examples). The same combination recurs in the MB and NB boundary
 stone inscriptions.⁽⁶¹⁾ There may be a continuous tradition here
 which we cannot follow because of the scarcity of curse material
 from the OB period.

The same uniformity is observable in the vocabulary of
 other types of curse-formulae (e.g. those referring to sickness,
 short life, etc.), and it is evident that the scribes were

drawing on a traditional fund of formulae, which occur again and again in different sequence.⁽⁶²⁾ This is particularly evident in the MB and NB boundary stone curses, which are the fullest examples. We have, therefore, to reckon with the possibility that archaic concepts might have been preserved, fossilised, in their terminology. The same is true of the other sources dealt with in this section, as they all drew on literary traditions. It must be remembered, however, that all these types of text were considered effective mechanisms in relations with the divine, and so had to relate to concepts which had meaning for those who used them. This is confirmed in the case of curses by the occurrence of minor changes in the repertory of curse-formulae in the course of time.⁽⁶³⁾ For example, terms meaning "heir" in the legal sense are found only in OB, MB and NB inscriptions.⁽⁶⁴⁾ isdu(m) occurs only in Babylonian inscriptions, as mentioned above, but as it occurs in NA personal names in this sense,⁽⁶⁵⁾ it is unlikely that the absence of examples in curses reflects any difference of concept. The absence might be explained as due to the processes of literary tradition or as an accident of discovery, preservation or publication.

From the MB period onwards a more elaborate formula was developed, adding nannabu,⁽⁶⁶⁾ "fruit", to the traditional sumu, zêru and pir'u, e.g. (NB) BBS iii 26-30: e-š̄i-is-su li-is-su-[h]u li-ḫal-li-[qu] pi-ri-ih-š̄u li-is-su-uh-hu li-š̄e-lu-ú na-an-nab-š̄u, "May (Anu, Enlil and Ea) tear out his root and destroy it, tear out his offshoot and get rid of his fruit"; BBS 9 ii 16-18: m u -š̄u n u m u n -š̄u n u n u z -š̄u u na-an-nab-š̄u ina k a ũku. m e š̄ li-ḫal-liq, "May (Ninurta) wipe out his posterity, his descendants, his offspring and his fruit from the speech of men"; (NA) KAH 2 122 71-2, see p. 130 above.⁽⁶⁷⁾

This formula and the imagery it uses are more fully developed in blessings (see following section). The passage from Adad-nirari's annals quoted above is unique in adding ellassu ũ

kimtiš^u, terms for kinship groups, to šumsu^u and zērsu^u.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Curses of impotence are characteristic of Assyrian inscriptions, e.g. ITN I vi (p.7) 12-15: lu-š^u-mi [zik-r]^u-š^u si-ni-sa-ni^š [m]^u-ut-su ana ri-ḥu-ti [liš-ku]^u-un "May (Ištar) make his masculinity turn effeminate, cause his male power to ebb away"; Afo 8 17ff. r. v 12-13: as-sa-tu-š^u li-tu-t^u [a-a i-šⁱ aš-š^u]^m u š . m e š g a š a n s a l . m e š g i š . b a n -
š^u-nu li-ki^m [n]^a-pal-tu-š^u-nu liš-kun, "May his wife not obtain satisfaction, (and) as for the males, may the Lady of Women (the Goddess?) take away their bows and appoint their destruction";⁽⁶⁹⁾ cf. Borger, Asarh. p.99 65 56: zik-r^u-su sin-ni^š-a-ni^š lu-š^a-lik-^m [ma]ⁱ na k i (šapal) l ū . k ū r - š^u lu-še-šib-š^u ka-me^š, "May (Ištar) cause his masculinity to turn effeminate, may he submit to his enemy as if bound". In all these curses there seems to be a mental association between sexual and military impotence, which is not attested in Babylonian sources and sheds an interesting sidelight on the Assyrian national character. Evidence of this association in its positive aspect, linking virility and military prowess (and fertility) will be discussed in the following section. Anxieties about impotence were, of course, not limited to the Assyrians, and are attested in the standard religious literature, especially in the group of texts known as the š à . z i . g a texts, a collection of rituals and incantations designed to cure this particular affliction.⁽⁷⁰⁾

A few curses treat human fertility as contributing to the prosperity of someone having power over others. The curse from the epilogue of CH quoted above p.129 for example, shows a concern for fertility among the population comparable with that shown by public omens. Similarly BBS 9 ii 27-29 curses a future landowner with the cessation of fertility among his people and cattle: a-la-ad a-me-lu-ti g u d . ḥ á . m e š
g a n a m . u d u . ḥ á . m e š li-š^a-š^a-hi-is-su, "May (Ninmah)

interrupt for him the birth of human beings, cattle and sheep", and VTE 437-438: ta-lit-tu ina k u r -ku-nu lip-ru-us, "May (Belit-ilani) cut off childbirth in your land".

Such direct references to the economic advantages of human fertility to overlords in a peasant society are, however, comparatively rare. A poetic connection, natural enough in an agricultural economy, between human reproduction and productiveness of the land is frequently expressed, but may not necessarily have been influenced by the interests of the great land-owners.

Interpretation of the Terminology

A. Curses are a form of religious literature and much of their terminology is poetic. Terms like pir'u(m), nannabu, išdu(m) and šuršu(m)⁷¹ are metaphors derived from plant growth. They rarely occur in their derived meanings outside curses, blessings, PN, omens and lexical lists. It would appear that the accumulation of such terms in curse formulae arose from the need to add weight and power to the curse, in order to make it as thorough as possible.

The image of progeny as a plant with offshoots spreading in time and space is most fully developed in blessings and prayers (see below). The idea behind the basic combination of curse formulae: išda(m) lissuhū (ū) zēra(m) lilqutū: appears to be that of a destruction of the plant thorough enough to prevent any possibility of future growth.

It is interesting that the nearest equivalent in Akk. to "lineage" in the sense of a continuing series of ancestors is kisittu, which means literally the branches of a tree as a collective whole. The term is rare in this sense, but is occasionally used in royal genealogies, (see Glossary and Ch. VI^{p233/237}). It occurs once, however, in a curse formula in a medical text,

CT 23 10 18: šur-šú-šú li-ta-'-pu ki-sit-ta-šú li-bal, "May his roots wither (?), his branches dry up. This occurs in the context of curses directed chiefly against the virility of the victim.

B. The same concern for thoroughness is shown by the emphasis laid on duration and extent of the effects of the curse, e.g. for duration: BBS 6 ii 60: a-di a n -e ù k i ba-šú-ú, "as long as heaven and earth exist"; BA 3 p.227f. (IR 49) vi 16: a-na u₄-me sa-a-ti; BBS and kudurrū passim: matīma ina arkât umē / (72) matīma ina labār umē, "at any time in the (distant) future"; for extent in space, see phrases such as "from the land", from the totality of the lands", e.g. AKA p.11 35; PEA Pl. 18 vi 50; KAH 2 122 72; [i n a k a . u k ù . m e š di-šá-a]-ti!" from the speech of the widespread peoples", L 5 (Lehmann, Ššmk Pl. 7)³³; BBS 9 ii 16-18.⁷³

The destruction of a man's descendants over a wide area presupposes time for his dependants to multiply sufficiently to occupy a wide area, logically implying immediate posterity, which could not have been intended by the curse. If šumu(m), zēru(m), and similar terms were given a wider meaning in such contexts, as referring to the continuous line of ancestors and descendants, the "lineage" to which the living individual belonged, such references could be interpreted as applying to the living agnatic kin of the individual, members of the same lineage. Such an interpretation is supported by the curse quoted above (AKA p.11 r.34-5) which refers to ellasu ū kimtašú. Evidence of a somewhat increased consciousness of the wider kinship group in the periods (MB/MA onwards) from which these examples come is discussed in Ch. I 3. Words are not used logically, however, in curses, but rather with a view to psychological effect, and it is possible that destruction of both immediate and distant descendants was really intended by the curse. The form of curses in this respect was probably

influenced by that of blessings and prayers.

However this evidence is interpreted it shows clearly that the severity of punishment by lack or loss of offspring lay not merely in losing those to whom one was attached or being deprived of the joys of parenthood. The loss of kin other than offspring is never mentioned in curses, and affective terminology for offspring is extremely rare.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The punishment seems rather to have been the prevention of the perpetuation of individual identity through male⁽⁷⁵⁾ descendants.

To summarise the evidence discussed in this section, the emphasis made by curses on the long-term advantages of posterity is shown in the vocabulary (especially šumu, zēru, išdu, and pir'u), the metaphor of plant growth, the lack of affective terminology, the occasional use of terms relating to inheritance, and the concern to extend the effect of the curse as far as possible in space and time.

1:3:2 Blessings, Prayers and Dedications

Blessings express concepts and use terminology identical with those of curses. Minor differences arise out of the fact that blessings are generally applied to a known individual, rather than to a hypothetical future subject.⁽⁷⁶⁾

There are a few cases where on public monuments curses are accompanied by blessings on anyone who preserves and respects the monument, but none of these contain references to the offspring of the hypothetical subject of the blessing. Material of this kind comes rather from the type of prayer which is often included in the dedication of a statue or a building. This often includes, besides the usual wishes for the health and longevity of the author or another person, a prayer that he may be blessed with offspring.

Most examples are from royal inscriptions, though a few

examples occur on private monuments, e.g. BBS 34, the dedication of a statue of a cultic dignitary set up by his son: a-na sa-at u4-me a-na n u m u n -[√]sú u n u n u z -[√]sú, "to future days, for his lineage and posterity (LL.6-7). The text published in AKA 388ff.⁽⁷⁷⁾ is the dedication by the chief scribe of Assur-uballit of Assyria (14th century BC) of his new house. R. LL.4-6 read: a-na d u m u . m e [√]s -ia a-na d u m u . m e [√]s d u m u . m e [√]s -ia a-na n u m u n . m e [√]s -ia u n u m u n . n u m u n . m e [√]s -ia a-[na] aḫ-ra-te li-ki-in-nam-ma, "May (Marduk) keep (this house) with my sons, my sons' sons, my descendants, and the descendants of my descendants in time to come". It may be noted that both these examples of private prayers alluding to continuance of posterity come from influential citizens of the MB period and both men of Babylonian origin.⁽⁷⁸⁾

In royal monuments such prayers occur mainly among the Sargonid kings of Assyria. A number of these refer to the duration of the "reign", using the term palû (Log. b a l), which in Akkadian can mean either "reign" or "dynasty", as the basic meaning of the term is "turn" or "rotation", whether one year of a reign, one king's turn to reign, or the turn of one dynasty to reign.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Contexts which refer to an "everlasting" palû must be referring to the duration of the dynasty, e.g. Bi. Or. 21 p.148 (CT 44 3-9) 43-45 (Esarhaddon): kun-nu b a l -ia liq-bu-ú a-na du-ur da-ri "May they ordain the everlasting duration of my reign". Other contexts refer explicitly to the descendants of the author, e.g. OIP 2 p.134 (IR 43f.) 93 (Sennacherib): li-pu-ú-a du-rí da-rí a-na u4-me ru-qu-te li-ku-nu ki-rib-ša "May my offspring endure there (in Assyria) for ever and ever to distant days".

The most fully developed examples of a votive inscription of this kind occurs in the dedication by Esarhaddon of the

shrine of Esagila in Babylon, rebuilt by him. The passage in question (BA 3 254 viii 6-40) shows clearly how pious building works and other acts worthy of a good ruler were felt to deserve the reward of continuing posterity⁽⁸⁰⁾ and how the two ideas of a continuing monument and continuing posterity were inextricably enmeshed. The passage reads: n u m u n 'š a - a n - g u - t i - i a i t - t i t e - m e - e n É - s a g - i l a u B ā b i l i (k i) l i - k u n a - n a u ḫ - m e s a - a - t i l u g a l - ḫ - t u g i m š a m b a l ā t i u g u u z u u k ḫ l i - t i b - m a k i m - t i l u - r a p - p i š s a - l a - t i l u - p a ḫ - ḫ i r n u n u z l u - ṣ a m - d i l l u - ṣ a r - r i - ṣ u p a - p a l - l u s u ḫ u š g i š . g u . z a ṣ a - a n - t i - i a u - ḫ u m - m e š l i - t i r - r a i t - t i a n - e u k i - t i m l i - k u n b a l - u - a "May my priestly line endure as along with Esagila and Babylon, may the kingship benefit the flesh of the people like a healing plant (may they rule justly, and may their subjects have long, full and satisfied lives). May I increase (my) kin, keep (my) clan together, extend (my) progeny, so that they put forth branches. May the foundation of my priestly throne be as firm as a rock. May my reign endure as long as heaven and earth (exist)".⁽⁸¹⁾ (LL.6-29).

In addition to the points just noted, this text shows a development of the metaphor of plant growth⁽⁸²⁾ much more elaborate than any found in curse material. A similar elaboration is found in ABL 358, an effusively grateful letter to Esarhaddon's son, Aššurbanipal, from Adad-šuma-ušur, one of his officials: t u - u b l i b - b i t u - u b u z u . m e š u ḫ . m e š g i d . d a . m e š ṣ e - b i - e l i - t u - t i p a - l i - e ṣ a n u - u ḫ - ṣ i a - n a l u g a l b e - l i - i a l i - d i - n u m u u n u m u n n u n u z l i l - l i - d u a - n a l u g a l b e - l i - i a l i - i b - ṣ u ṣ u r - ṣ u - k a l i - i š - m u - ḫ u l i - r a p - p i - ṣ u, "May (the Great Gods) give the king my lord mental and physical well-being, long days, a fulfilled life, a reign of plenty; may the king my lord have posterity, descendants, offshoots, young; may your roots grow luxuriantly and spread wide" (obv. 10-14).

Another letter from the same official to Esarhaddon, ABL 6, thanking the king for summoning his family (qinnu, L.16) to appear before him,⁽⁸³⁾ wishes that the great gods might likewise summon the king's family ina qin-ni-šū-nu (L.27). Expressions in these letters, as in the inscription of Esarhaddon quoted above and in other contexts, referring to the "extending" or "keeping together" (paḥāru) of kin as desirable, suggest, when they occur in contexts referring to male posterity, some degree of importance attached to lineage groups, as well as to continuity of descent.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Another concept clearly illustrated by the above passage from ABL 358 is the connection between fertility and wellbeing of the land and fertility in the royal household. This concept may well have been more than the natural poetic metaphor, already noted in curses (see also the omen CT 39 45 23-4 quoted above, p.122) and have originated in the role played by the king in rituals designed to ensure the fertility of the land.⁽⁸⁵⁾

An apparent sympathetic connection between natural fertility and human sexual vigour and fertility may be seen in an inscription of Sargon published by Winckler (Sargon I p.192), especially LL.4-6: naq-bi-ka šu-up-ta-a šu-bi-la kùp-pi-šu ma-a-mi hi-iz-bi taḥ-di šum-ki-ra ta-mir-tuṣ, "open your sources, bring forth your springs, drench his meadows with the waters of plenty and abundance" (addressed to the god Ea). Another inscription from the same part of the royal palace⁽⁸⁶⁾ makes a vivid poetic connection between the strength of the king and the strength of the horses bred for his chariot teams.⁽⁸⁷⁾

In royal inscriptions of other periods, such prayers are rare and always brief. A few examples refer to the duration of the dynasty, e.g. VS 1 32 i 13-16 (OB Malgium): a-na wa-ar-ki-a-tim lu-ki-na iš-da-šū Ma-al-gu-um a-al-ki šar-ru-tum b a l -um li- i g (libšī), "May its (the temple's) foundations be
⁽⁸⁸⁾

firm for the future. May Malgium, your city, have the kingship and the dynasty"; VR 33⁽⁸⁹⁾ viii 4-6: n u m u n n a m . l u g a l . l a a-na u₄. m e š g i d . d a . m e š lid-di-iš "May the seed of kingship be renewed to distant days" (addresseed to Damkina).

Ordinary prayers from the traditional repertory contain few references to progeny.⁽⁹⁰⁾ A few examples exist, however, to show (as do omens and personal names) the concern of the ordinary citizen with this part of his life, e.g. BMS 30 14: sur-qim-ma m u u n u m u n "Grant me posterity and descendants" (part of prayer to Istar for recovery from illness); IVR 57b⁽⁹¹⁾ 6: ina i g i -ka su-mi ū pi-ri-i li-šir, "May my posterity and progeny prosper in your sight". Note also in a mythical context Bab. 12 Pl.3 39ff; Pl.8 12ff: id-nam-ma šam-ma ša a-la-[di] kul-li-man-ni-ma šam-ma ša a-la-di bil-ti ū-sub-ma su-ma suk-na-an-ni, "Give me the plant of birth, show me the plant of birth, take away my burden, and give me a name".⁽⁹²⁾ Such prayers⁽⁹³⁾ show that the aspiration to perpetuation of personal identity through one's descendants was not exclusive to the king and the upper classes.

1.4. Conclusions

1. All these sources are unanimous about the desirability of male progeny, in the short-term view as legitimate heirs, and in the long-term view as the source of future progeny who would perpetuate the memory of their ancestor.
2. There is evidence of these aspirations for all classes of society for whom there is evidence. We do not know how far the attitudes expressed in omens and prayers were representative of all sectors of the population (e.g. the unfree and the peasants). The greatest stress on duration is discernible in the sources (curses, blessings and dedications) which attest to the aspirations of the royal family and the land-owning classes, and among these in the later examples (MB/MA onwards). The evidence for the Sargonid kings of Assyria, in particular, shows an explicit wish for continuance and solidarity of their descendants. This observation lends support to the view that the strength of the desire for posterity was proportionate both to the amount of property and status invested in the individual household and status group, and to the degree of insecurity felt by the individual or group in the possession of that property and status. The concern for stability of the dynasty in the Sargonid period may, accordingly, be related to the unprecedented size of the Assyrian empire, the power of the Assyrian king, and the threat to the royal power that the very size of his territory presented. On the same theory, the emphasis on duration and extent of curses on MB boundary stones may be related to the unprecedented size of the estates granted by the Kassite kings and the insecurity of their new owners.

Because we are dependent solely on written sources, however, this theory can only be tentative. Only the kings and members of the upper classes were in a position to perpet-

uate their memory by means of written monuments, and therefore it is only from them that we have written evidence of their desire to do so. The evidence of omens and personal names, indeed, suggests that the desire for self-perpetuation through descendants was widespread, but there is surprisingly little evidence of this in prayers. A slightly greater stress on continuity is discernible in personal names from the MB and MA periods onwards, and this may be significant when related to the same development in the royal inscriptions.

2. Obligations of Descendants to their Ascendants

A characteristic manifestation of the sense of a relationship between descendants and ascendants in Mesopotamian culture is the sense of duty owed to ascendants. This attitude finds its strongest expression in ancestor worship, which is discussed in Ch. IV. In the present section these duties are examined from the viewpoint of the ascendants, their general expectations from their descendants, and the mechanisms by which specific duties could be laid on descendants in specific instances.

These mechanisms were of two kinds:

- 1) Monuments, in which duties were laid by an individual on his own descendants.
- 2) Contracts (including state treaties), which could be made binding on the descendants of the contracting parties.

2:1 Monuments

It is a custom widespread in literate societies for individuals of sufficient status to have access to the use of writing to record their names with other information on a durable material designed to last beyond their lifetime. Such "monuments", as the Latin derivation of our term⁽⁹⁴⁾ illustrates, were intended to "admonish" or "remind" future generations of the existence of their authors. The form and siting of monuments vary with the religious orientation of the culture of which it is or was an element.

In Mesopotamia monuments are attested for all periods, written sometimes on clay, sometimes on stone for greater durability. Funerary inscriptions (a variety which readily comes to mind in connection with Ancient Egypt or Classical Greece and Rome) are very rare in Mesopotamia⁽⁹⁵⁾ (possibly an accident of preservation or discovery). Royal monuments are by far the most common, being attested for all periods and recording the

name of the ruler together with his military, judicial, and, above all, building achievements⁽⁹⁶⁾.

Monuments of private individuals are extremely rare, though the so-called "boundary-stones", stone stelae inscribed with the deeds of private estates and set up on the estates, were also monumental in character, and share certain characteristics with the royal monuments. Because of the contractual nature of their contents, however, these will be dealt with in the section on "Contracts".

2:1:1 Royal monuments

Throughout the period covered by this thesis - and indeed throughout Mesopotamian history - rulers were under a strong obligation to preserve the monuments of their predecessors. The authors of the monuments themselves usually state their obligation, binding their successors under severe penalties to perform it. Deities, as the only enduring authority - and the only authority over kings - are invoked to enforce the penalties and often to reward the performance of the obligation. Thus royal monuments very often conclude with a curse and/or blessing.

(a) The nature of the obligation

The nature of the obligation was always~~s~~essentially the preservation of the memory of the ruler whose name and achievements were recorded on the monument. The phraseology varies according to the area, period and type of the monument. Often specific acts of impiety against the monument itself (moving it, knocking it over, breaking it, placing it in the background or putting it where it will not be seen) or against the inscription (defacing or altering it) are put under a ban. The (relatively few) extant OB and MB royal inscriptions conclude in this way, as do the many OAkK examples. Assyrian inscriptions generally include an "address to future rulers"⁽⁹⁷⁾ calling for

proper treatment of the monument and invoking divine favour as a reward.

The majority of monuments are building inscriptions on bricks, cylinders, prisms and cones of baked clay or stone incorporated in the walls or foundations of buildings. The Akkadian terms for such monuments were narû(m)⁽⁹⁸⁾ "stela, monument" and temmennu(m) "foundation (deposit)". These inscriptions would only be looked at on the occasion of the repair of the building. Certain NA building inscriptions specifically demand that the future ruler should look at the monument: mu-šar-e šitir su-me-ia li-mur-ma OIP II 98 L.94 (S. Smith. First Campaign of Sennacherib); mu-šar-e u]ši-tir [m u -ia] li-[mur-ma] BA III 257-8 x 7-9 (Esarhaddon) "may he look at my inscription (and) the writing of my name". Certain MA building inscriptions curse a future ruler who should put the monument "in a forbidden room (bīt asakki), where it will not be seen", e.g. KAH I 3 L.15-16: lu-ú a-na a . m e š i-na-du-ú a-na é . a s a g a-šar la a-ma-ri ú-še-ri-bu-ma "or (whoever) throws it in the water or has it put in a forbidden room, where it will not be seen"⁽⁹⁹⁾. That Assyrian rulers did, in fact, look at the monuments of their predecessors, and presumably, if illiterate, have them read out by a scribe, is shown by the references in building inscriptions to earlier building works on the same site which, when they can be checked, have proved accurate.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The Old Assyrian stela of Shamshi-Adad I, one of the earliest Assyrian building inscriptions (AAA 19 p.105ff., dupl. YOS 9 No. 70, published in transliteration EAK p.9f) is particularly explicit about the duties of an Assyrian ruler to his predecessor (iii 11 - iv 25):

aḥ-ri-ti-iš u₄-mi la-ba-ri-iš é l u g a l ša (d)En-lil i-na-ab-bu-šu i-nu-ma É-ki-dùr-kù-ga ša a-na-ku e-pu-šu i-ta-an-ḥu-ma ú-ud-da-šu ki-ma a-na-ku na-re-e ú te-em-me-ni ša Ma-an-iš-ti-šu

la ú-na-ak-ki-ru na-re-e-ia ù te-em-me-ni-ia a ú-na-ak-ki-ir
a-na ma-aš-k[a-ni]-šú-nu-m[la] [iv] li-te-er-šú-nu-ti šum-ma
l u g a l šú-ú ik-šú-it(sic?)-ma na-re-e-ia ù te-em-me-ni-ia
ú-ša-as-sí-ik-ma a-na aš-ri-šú-nu la ú-te-er-šú-nu-ti na-re-e-
šú-ma ù te-em-me-ni-šú iš-ta-ka-an l u g a l šú-ú ša e-li
d i n g i r . m e š ù l u g a l . m e š mar-šú i-te-pé-eš
 (d) u t u da-a-ia-nu ra-bu-ú ša a n u k i ki-ma ša-ri-ku
be-el da-mi a-na qa-at l u g a l be-el le-mu-ut-ti-šú li-ma-
al-li-[šú] (d) N i n Ni-nu-wa-a(ki) šar-ru-us-sú ù pa-la-šú li-
te-er-šú-ma a(?) -na(?) š[a-ni]-i-im [s u m -in]

"In later times, when the temple has become old, the king whom Enlil names, when Ekidurkuga (the temple) which I have built, has fallen into ruins and he rebuilds it, just as I did not change the stelae and foundation deposits of Maništusu, may he not change my stelae and foundation deposits; may he put them back in position. If that king sins(?), overturns my stelae and foundation deposits, and does not put them back in position, but sets up his own stelae and foundation deposits, he will have done something injurious to gods and kings. May Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and earth, as one who hands over a murderer (for vengeance), give him up to a hostile king. May Ištar of Nineveh deprive him of his royalty and allotted reign,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ and give them to someone else!" In ii 2 - iii 5 Šamši-Adad boasts that, when repairing the temple, he himself put Maništusu's monuments (dating some five centuries earlier) back in place with his own beside them.

Some inscriptions include the actual rebuilding of the temple or palace among the duties of the future ruler. e.g. ITN 5 (KAH II 58) 84-93: a-na ar-kat u4 . m e š n u n e g i r
e-nu-ma é . g a l šú-i ú-sal-ba-ru e-na-ḫu an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš
na-ri-ia ḫ lip-šú-uš ni-qa-a liq-qi a-na aš-ri-šú lu-te-ir
 (d) As-šur ù (d)I š k u r ik-ri-be-šú i-še-mu-ú "In after time,

when this palace has become old and fallen into ruins, may a future ruler repair its ruins, anoint my stela with oil, make an offering and put it back in place" anhussa luddi^v "May he repair its ruins and enahuma udda^vsu "(When) it falls to ruins and he repairs it" are both common phrases in MA monuments; both may occur in the inscriptions of a single king, e.g. Adad-nirari I (compare AKA pp. 8-9 r.12 [lu-di-i^vs] with KAH II 34 r.35 [ud-da^v-su]). The repair of temples in particular was a basic religious duty of any king and therefore might not be specifically enjoined.⁽¹⁰²⁾

The main concern of all building inscriptions is that the monument should not be discarded in the rebuilding, causing the record of the author's work to be lost. Most MA inscriptions contain the phrase ana ašri^všu(m) li^vtêr "May he put it/them back in position". A very revealing phrase which occurs in monuments of all periods, including Babylonian monuments and even Sumerian inscriptions of the pre-OB period, expresses the fear that the future ruler might efface the name of his predecessor and replace it in the inscription by his own, hence obliterating all record of the former's work, e.g. OB: šum-ma a-wi-lum šu-ú š^vu-mi ša-at-ra-am ip-š^vi-it-ma šum-š^vu i^vs-ta-tár "If that man..... erases my written name and writes his own name" CH Epilogue xxvib 18, 33-38; ša š^vu-mi ša-at-ra-am i-pa-aš-š^vi-tu-ma [š^vu]m-š^vu i-š^va-at-ta-ru "Whoever erases my written name and writes his own name" AfO 12 365-6 (Inscription of Takil-ana-iliš^vu of Malgium); OA: š^vu-mi ú-š^va-za-ku-ma šum-š^vu i-š^va-at-ta-ru "(Whoever) overturns my name and writes his own name": KAH I 2; (Stone tablet of Šamsi-Adad I) LL.16-17; MB: ša š^vu-mi ša-at-ra i-pa-aš-š^vi-tú (d)ú t u u (d)I š k u r šum-š^vu lip-š^vi-tú "Whoever erases my written name, may Šamaš and Adad erase his name". AO 7704, (seal of Nazi-marittas^v), Delaporte, Musée du Louvre, Cylindres II A 821, side II; cf. WVDOG 4 Pl. 1 No. 3 5-10; MA: šá m u šat-ra i-pa-š^vi-tu-ma m u -š^vu i-š^va-at-ta-ru

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"Whoever erases my written name and writes his own name" ITN 5
 (KAH II 58) 94-5; NA: mu-sar-e šī-tir šu-me-ia li-mur-ma i .
gi s lip-[šū-uš] u d u . s i z k u r liq-qī a-na aš-ri-šū
li-tir "May he look at my inscription, the writing of my name,
 anoint it with oil, make an offering, and put it back in position"
 OIP II 98 L.94 . Many MA inscriptions curse "the one who
 alters my inscription and my name" (ša šitriya ū šumiya unakaru)
 e.g. KAH I 13 left side 4-5, and passim in inscriptions of
 Shalmaneser I.

The term mušaru⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ which is frequent in NA inscriptions such
 as that quoted above is derived from Sumerian m u . s a r
 (= m u "name" + s a r "write") which means the same as Akkadian
šitir šumi "writing of the name" or šumu šatru "written name".
 As in all Semitic languages and many non-Semitic ones, "name"
 has connotations of fame or reputation. At all periods kings
 express the desire that their name should last for ever. The
 OB inscription from Malgium quoted above explicitly states that
 the building inscription was a way of achieving this aim. Takil-
 ana-ilīšu concludes his account of his repairs of the temple
 with the words: [š]u-ma-am da-ri-a-am [s]a šar-ru-ti-ia lu aš-
kun (LL.19-21) "I made an everlasting name for my kingship"⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.
 That the name and reputation of kings outlived not only their
 own lives but even changes of dynasty is attested over and over
 again in the records - in the preservation of king lists, in
 historical omens relating especially to the kings of the
 dynasty of Akkad who had become figures of legend, and especially
 in the building inscriptions of later kings.

The earliest known reference to the performance of religious
rites before the monument of a former ruler is the Stone Tablet
 of Šamši-Adad I from Aššur. (KAH I 2).VLL.2-7 run: te-em-me-ni-ia
ū na-ri-e-ia i li-ip-šū uš ni-ki-a-am li-ik-ki-ma a-na aš-ri-
šū-nu li-te-ir-šū-nu-ti, "May he anoint my stela and foundation

deposit with oil, make an offering, and put them back in position⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. The same rites of anointing and offering are demanded frequently in Assyrian monuments after Shalmaneser I (1274-1245) e.g. KAH I 13 Left edge, L.3, but in the intervening half-millennium only by Arik-den-ilu (14th century) KAH II 29; possibly both Arik-den-ilu and Shalmaneser derived the rite from Šamši-Adad's inscription, as Weidner suggests (EAK p.67). The Šamši-Adad inscription is written in the Mari dialect of Akkadian, and the rite may originally not have been an indigenous Assyrian institution but have been derived from West Semitic culture. It may, however, be compared with the Assyrian custom of mixing oil, honey, ghee and wine into the mortar of temples and palaces.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

(c) Persons subject to the obligation

The obligation to preserve the memory of kings was not restricted to their own descendants, the members of their dynasty. The long tradition that preserved the memory of kings of former dynasties of different ethnic origins prevented the second millennium kings from assuming that their dynasties could go on indefinitely. The traditional attitude to kingship, rooted in the Sumerian political system and history, was that the gods appointed the ruler over Assyrian and Babylonia (or both in periods of political domination by one or the other) and that each dynasty had its "turn" (b a l = palū^A(m)) to rule.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Most royal inscriptions before the first millennium cautiously address their injunctions to any future ruler. The CH Epilogue lays penalties on "the king who shall come to be among the people" (l u g a l ša i-na k a l a m i-b-ba-aš-su-ú, xxvb 62-3)⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ and later "That man, be he king, lord or governor"⁽¹¹⁰⁾ (a-wi-lum su-ú l u l u g a l l u e n l u e n s i k) "or anyone human at all (ú l u a-wi-lu-tum ša su-ma-am na-bi-a-at). A similar phrase occurs in the OB Malgium inscription (AfO 12 pp.365-6):

[l ú šu-á l u l u g a l l u e n l u l ú [ša i]na a-wi-lu-tim

[^vsu-m]a-am na-bu-ú (11.28-30).

The Ninevite Stela of Šamšī-Adad addresses simply "the king whom Enlil names" (iii 13-14) and "that king" (iv 2) (see above). Assyrian inscriptions in general limit their attention to future kings. The use of rubu'u(m), rubu[^] "ruler", rather than šarru(m) "king", is characteristic of Assyrian inscriptions after Šamšī-Adad I. The characteristic MA phrase is rubu[^] arku[^] "a future ruler" e.g. KAH II 34 r.33: n u n ar-ku-ú (Adad-nirari I); ITN 2 47 (KAH I 16): ru-bu-ú ar-ku-ú; ITN 5 (KAH II 58) 85: n u n e g i r .

A few Assyrian rulers, however, refer to their successors as "kings" (šarrāni), and such inscriptions also specify these future rulers as descendants of the king in question. The earliest example is the Stone Tablet of Šamšī-Adad I (KAH I No. 2 iv 20 - v1): ma-am-ma-an i-na l u g a l . m e š ma-ri-ia ša é u-ud-da-šu "Anyone among the kings my descendants (lit. "sons") who rebuilds the temple". A similar phrase was popular with the Sargonid kings, e.g. OIP 2 98¹¹¹: i-na l u g a l . m e š d u m u . m e š -i a ša (d)Aššur a-na ri-[é-u₄-ut] k u r ù u k ù . m e š i-nam-bu-ú zi-kir-šu "One of the kings my descendants whose name Aššur shall call for the shepherding of land and people"; BA 3 257-8 (Esarhaddon) ix 39 -x 6: ina l u g a l -n i [d u m u . m e š -i a n u n 'ša] (d)Marduk [ana] be-lut k u r u [u k ù] i-nam-bu-[u] zi-k[ir m u -su] "Among the kings my sons, the ruler whose name Marduk shall call for lordship over land and people"¹¹² Even these kings do not take it for granted that the succession of their descendants was automatic, and provide for the dispensations of Providence.

(d) Extent in time of the obligations

The inscriptions often, but not invariably, contain phrases expressing the idea "in the future". Such a phrase was not

felt essential to protect the monument and briefer inscriptions are content with rubû arkû to express the idea of futurity. The occasion in the future to which the injunctions apply is, of course, specified in these inscriptions as the rebuilding of the temple. The most common phrase for futurity is ana (w)arkat umî/ē, lit. "in after days", occasionally ana ahrat umē (e.g. AKA p.22 L.11, Assur-reš-iši), cf. Šamši-Adad's ah-ri ti-iš u₄-mi (Ninevite Stela iii 11, quoted above), with the same meaning. These phrases do not necessarily imply very distant futurity. Theoretically the memory of the author of the monument could have lasted indefinitely if his instructions to replace the monument were observed by successive rebuilders. Rarely, phrases for distant futurity are added, e.g. AKA p.22 (Assur-reš-iši) L.11: a-na ah-rat u₄-m e š a-na u₄-um sa-a-ti "In after days, until a far-off day"; BA 3 257-8 (Esarh.) ix 37-38: a-na ar-kaš u₄-mu a-na u₄-me sa-a-ti "In after days, until far-off days".

2:1:2 Private monuments

Private monuments are comparatively rare. A MB clay memorial tablet⁽¹¹³⁾ records the building of a house in Assur by the chief scribe of Assur-uballit, but does not contain an address to posterity. A Babylonian votive statue⁽¹¹⁴⁾ (of uncertain date; possibly MB or early NB) was set up by a temple functionary for his father's "descendants and posterity" (a-na n u m u n -šú u n u n u z -šú, L.7). It contains a curse against (LL.9=15): man-nu e g i r šá sal-mu u z á . n á . r ú . a an-na-a ub-ba-tu lu-u i-na ši-pir ni-kil-tú ú-hal-la-qu "Any later person who destroys this statue and inscription or effaces it by clever workmanship." The statue was set up ana sa-at u₄-me (L.6) and, as a votive statue, was intended to remain in the sight of the gods to protect the author's descendants after his death.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

The only other examples of private monuments containing

addresses to posterity are funerary inscriptions written on clay balls in OB script, but in MB language, presumably originating in MB or NB graves. There are five extant examples all containing essentially the same inscription with minor variants.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

⁽¹¹⁷⁾
V.S I 54 (VAT 3117) has:

a-na ma-ti-ma a-na la-ba-ar u₄-mi a-na u₄-um si-a-tim a-na u₄-mi
ša u₄ h -hu-rum k i . m a h a-ni-a-am li-mur-ma la u₄-ša-sa-ak
a-na aš-ri-su li-te-ir a-wi-lum su-u ša a-ni-i-tam i-im-ma-ru-ma
la i-me-e-su ki-a-am i-ga-ab-bu-u k i . m a h -mi a-ni-am a-na
aš-ri-su-mi li-te-ir-su gi-mil i-pu-su li-ir-ti-ib-su i-na e-la-ti
sum-su li-id-mi-iq i-na ša-ap-la-ti e-ti-im-mu-su me-e za-ku-ti
li-il-tu-u

"On any occasion in the future until a far-off day, in days to come, may one observe this grave, not overturn it, but put it back in position; that man who observes this, does not despise it, but speaks thus: 'Let me put back this grave in its place!' may he reward him for his act of kindness,⁽¹¹⁸⁾ above may his name prosper, below may his shades drink clean water."

These funerary inscriptions use language similar to that of royal monuments, but with an apparently greater stress on futurity. The monuments are at present anonymous, though possibly in situ they were not. Because the inscriptions are no longer in their original context and we do not know the nature of the tombs or the status of the men buried in them, these inscriptions are difficult to interpret.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

2:2 Contracts

In this section the term "contract" is used in its widest sense to embrace all written documents recording an agreement between two parties. Under this heading private contracts and state treaties will be dealt with separately. The purpose of a contract is to bind the parties to the agreement they have reached; the Akkadian term for the document recording both

private contracts and treaties was riksu(m) or fem. rikistu(m), rikiltu(m) from the root rakāsu(m) "to bind". The purpose of the present investigation is to discover how far the parties to contracts intended their terms to be binding on their descendants, and the ways in which contracts express their consciousness of their descendants.

2:2:1 Private contracts

The type of contract that provides evidence for the present investigation is that which records the permanent transfer of rights in property, either by sale or exchange, particularly immovables (land and houses), but also movables, particularly persons, i.e. slaves, girls in marriage, or children into adoption or slavery. Such short-term contracts as loans or work-contracts are not relevant to the discussion. Contracts of "sale", as defined above, served as the deeds of possession of the new owner, and at all periods had to bear the seal⁽¹²⁰⁾ of the party who was giving up rights in the property transferred. They were normally witnessed and dated, the witnesses often including central or local government officials. MB and NB deeds of ownership inscribed on stone stelae (the kudurru or "boundary stones") are not always witnessed, but generally record the approval of the king, often bearing his image carved in relief.⁽¹²¹⁾ Sometimes in these inscriptions it is recorded that the land was surveyed by royal officials.⁽¹²²⁾

In OB and OA documents it is stated that the parties have sworn⁽¹²³⁾ to abide by their terms, by god and/or king, and occasionally by "the City".⁽¹²⁴⁾ This practice is not actually recorded in MA and later documents, whether or not it continued, but some later documents⁽¹²⁵⁾ and all kudurru⁽¹²⁶⁾ explicitly place the contract under divine protection. Very few contracts on clay tablets have survived from the MB period; the heir-adoption contract from Nippur published in BE 14 40 is similar in form to the OB Nippur

contracts and states that an oath has been sworn by the contracting parties to abide by its terms.⁽¹²⁷⁾

Contracts of all periods contain clauses prohibiting breach of contract. OB and OA contracts ensure finality of the contract by an oath not to attempt to reverse or dispute its terms.⁽¹²⁸⁾

Later contracts often impose penalties to deter the original owner or those connected with him from disputing possession.⁽¹²⁹⁾

(a) Nature of the obligation

The exact wording of the clauses prohibiting breach of contract varies with time and region, but the essential purpose is always to prevent anyone from attempting to invalidate the transfer by legal process, disputing the new owner's claim to sole rights in the property.⁽¹³⁰⁾

(b) Persons subject to the obligation

In many contracts the final clauses apply not only to the seller but specifically to certain of his kin liable to inherit his property and others considered likely to claim the property. In the OB period, such provisions are exclusive to contracts written in stereotyped legal Sumerian, from S. Babylonia (Nippur and Isin) and in one exceptional case from Larsa.⁽¹³¹⁾ In some of these contracts, often explicitly concerning the transfer of patrimonial property,⁽¹³²⁾ the former owner swears that neither he himself nor "his heirs, however many they be" (u i b i l a a . n a m e . a . b i) will attempt to reclaim the property.⁽¹³³⁾

In one exceptional Nippur contract the brothers of the original owner are included in the oath.⁽¹³⁴⁾ No Akkadian document from N. Babylonia is known which explicitly includes any kin of the former owner in the oath.

After the OB period many contracts of sale provide against claims from kin of the former owner, but descendants beyond two generations are not explicitly included in private contracts of

any period. kudurrū and NB tablets provide against claims from the "brothers, sons, family, kin and relatives of PN" (the seller) or, especially in kudurrū, of PN "the house of PN".⁽¹³⁵⁾ By contrast, the NA contracts almost always⁽¹³⁶⁾ mention the sons first; in many cases the grandsons are also mentioned;⁽¹³⁷⁾ references to brothers and brothers' sons are added in a considerable number of cases.⁽¹³⁸⁾ kudurrū and NA contracts also very often list certain officials of the provincial administration as possible claimants. These references provide valuable evidence concerning the rights and duties of land-holding within the respective administrative systems, a subject which has been discussed in⁽¹³⁹⁾ Ch. I.

It cannot be assumed, on the basis of differences between individual contracts belonging to a single area and period, that in a particular contract only specific relatives were bound by the penalties, and that where, for instance, only PN or PN and his sons or heirs are mentioned, the intention was that a brother might with impunity attempt to invalidate the transaction. The accumulation of a list of possible claimants was designed not as an exhaustive provision but rather as an extra precaution, emphasising the finality of the transaction. This purpose is brought out by the frequent conclusion of both the Babylonian and the Assyrian lists with a phrase meaning "or anyone".⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

(c) Extent in time of the obligations

Contracts and kudurrū do not specify for how long their provisions were intended to be binding, any more than do the royal monuments. The fact that a contract mentions specifically only one or at the most two generations of offspring cannot be interpreted as meaning that the land could then revert to its previous owner. It would be possible to understand abbe māre in Bab. contracts as meaning "kinsmen (and) descendants" and māre mār māre in Ass. contracts as implying "descendants" ("sons,

grandsons, etcetera") as in treaties,⁽¹⁴¹⁾ in view of the use of these terms in other contexts.⁽¹⁴²⁾ It is probable that abbe implies "kinsmen", at least in kudurrū, which concern land owned by lineage groups. On other Bab. and in Ass. contracts, abbe and māre may simply mean "brothers" and "sons" as the possible heirs. It is possible, however, that māre and i b i l a a . n a m e . a . b i imply a man's heirs in both a contemporary and a sequential sense. The practical possibility of a claim being made after property had been in the possession of a household for more than two generations must have been minimal. That deeds of possession, especially partition documents, were in a few cases kept in a family for more than three generations can be demonstrated from family archives and references in partition documents,⁽¹⁴³⁾ which are discussed in the second part of the chapter.

The phraseology of contracts does, however, yield some evidence of the extent of inheritance into the future significant to the contracting parties. Kudurrū, in common with a few exceptional NA contracts,⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ use phrases signifying distant futurity in their provisions,⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ by contrast with the usual phraseology of private contracts which generally runs: matīma ina arku/āt une (Bab.) "whenever in after days", or: mannu ſa ina urkīſ ina matēma (Ass.) "whoever at a later time on any occasion". Kudurrū also contain exhortations to posterity and curses comparable with those of royal monuments, in contrast with Babylonian deeds on stone and clay tablets of the same period, which simply impose compensation amounting to twelve times the purchase price of the property as a penalty on anyone who disputes the transfer. Curses occur very occasionally also in NA contracts.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

The use of phrases for distant futurity and of supernatural sanctions in kudurrū may be connected with the other peculiarities of form and function differentiating them from other contracts; kudurrū were stone stelae and the transaction was ratified by

the king (or an official acting on his behalf) who was in many cases the party forfeiting rights in the property.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Therefore it is hardly surprising that they shared certain formal features with royal monuments. The texts of kudurru always lay stress on the permanence of the transaction, often stating that the land was granted ana um [^]sati, "for ever".⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ The use of similar phrases and sanctions in NA contracts is too rare to allow of interpretation. It may be noted, however, that one of the two contracts published in ADD in which ana umI/e (a)sati is used, No. 659 = Aru 8, is a royal deed of gift. NA contracts also differ from Babylonian ones in imposing further, very severe penalties (including physical ones⁽¹⁴⁹⁾) in addition to the standard compensation (in Assyria ten times the purchase price). There is no evidence as to how often, if ever, such penalties were enforced, nor for how long after the conclusion of the contract they remained effective.

2:2:2 State Treaties

State treaties had the same function as private documents, being evidence of a binding agreement between two rulers. The earliest ^{Akkadian} state treaty known from Mesopotamia itself is that between ^{vv}Assur-nirari V (823-811) and the vassal king Mati²-ilu of Bit-Agusi.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ A number of treaties in Akkadian come from the second millenium, when Akkadian was the diplomatic language of the Near East. Their phraseology shows close similarity with the NA examples.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

The Assyrian treaties are all concerned with establishing the loyalty of states subordinate to Assyria. The fullest surviving examples are those of Esarhaddon with a number of Median chieftains and governors.⁽¹⁵²⁾ The text of all the treaties is the same, with minor variants.

These treaties are the only type of contract in which the terms are made binding explicitly and unambiguously on descend-

ants beyond two generations. the phrase d u m u . m e š^v -ku-nu
d u m u . d u m u . m e š^v -ku-nu is the same as in the NA
contracts, but here there is no doubt that it covers descendants,
e.g. VTE LL.382-384: [šá ul-tú u₄-mi an-ni-e a-di ša e g i r
a-de-e ib-ba-áš-šī-u-ni at-tu-nu d u m u] . m e š^v -ku-nu [ša
a-na u₄-me sa-a-ti ib-ba-áš-šū-u-ni] "(This oath) which is to
be (in force) from this day until after the treaty for you and
your sons who will come to be for ever.⁽¹⁵³⁾ In LL.288-290 the
vassals are sworn to instruct their descendants about the treaty
and advise them to abide by it: a-na [d u m u . m e š^v -ku-nu
d u m u . d u m u . m e š^v -ku-nu a-na n u m u n -ku-nu a-na
[n u m u n . n u m u n . m e š^v -ku-nu] -nu šá e g i r a-de-e ša
a-na u₄-me sa-a-ti ib-ba-áš-[šū-u-ni la ta-qab-ba-a-ni te-mu]
"(You swear that) you will inform your sons, your sons' sons,
your descendants, your descendants' descendants, who will come
into existence after this treaty until far-off times.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ The
phrase zērē zēr-zērē (n u m u n . m e š^v n u m u n . n u m u n .
m e š^v) occurs also in prayers, e.g. AKA pp.390-1, where the
prayer is for continuity of possession of a house.

Other Assyrian treaties are too fragmentary to provide
comparisons. Other Near Eastern treaties from the 2nd millenium
do not use the phrase zērē zēr-zērē, though, like the Esarhaddon
treaties, they normally include the children of the ruler and
his subjects in the oath.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ In treaties and correspondence of
this period former treaties are continually invoked,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ though in
practice it was often considered expedient to renew them.

A characteristic of the NA treaties distinguishing them
from the earlier examples is the unusual violence and inventive-
ness of the curses. Over 250 lines of the 674 lines of the VTE
text are taken up by curses. A number of these are made more
graphic by the use of similes, e.g. LL.608-611 use the simile
of the burning of a wax image in fire or the dissolving of a clay

image in water. It is likely that at least some of these similes were illustrated by symbolic acts. This is suggested by the phrase kī hanne "like this" (LL. 531, 548, 561, 580, 604, 610, 613, 623, 629, 638) and also by the Assur-nirari^{vv} treaty.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

The greater stress on permanence of the contract in treaties as compared with private contracts may be connected with the high value of what was at stake (the royal succession and the political stability of Assyria). Other texts, particularly the treaty of Esarhaddon's mother with the people of Assyria on the death of her son,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ show a particular anxiety in the Assyrian royal family about the succession of Assurbanipal.^{vv(159)}

Notes

1. While possessing distinct cultural traits, the Assyrians and Babylonians had a sense of ethnic unity, perhaps comparable with that of the classical Greeks. Just as the inhabitants of all the Greek city states felt themselves to be "Hellenes", so the inhabitants of Mesopotamia felt themselves to be "Black-headed ones" (salmat gaggadi) see VTE p.84; JNES 19 163ff.
2. On this subject see especially E. A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia" in The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East, Ed. R. C. Dentan; A. L. Oppenheim, Anc. Mes., Ch. III 144-153; H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babylonier und Hethitern bis 1200" in ZA 42 (N.F. 8) 1934 1-91; B. C. Brundage, "The Birth of Clio" in H. S. Hughes, Teachers of History, 1954, pp. 199-230; J. J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamian Historiography" in PAPS 107/6 (1963) 461ff; S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Historiography" in IEJ 3 (1953) 217-232.
3. "Religious texts" here include all texts ~~for~~ which express Mesopotamian religious ideas, not only those genres designed for religious use. Hence omens and personal names are discussed in this section.
4. On the functions of supernatural beings in Mesopotamian psychology see Ch. IV 1:1, p. 186 and n. 24.
5. CT 38 36 (Alu 22b) See Or. 39-42 p.118; J. Hunger, Tiermina p.119.
6. Note that Esarhaddon was selected for succession in preference to his elder brothers, after consultation of the omens (see Borger, Asarh. 29 Episode 2, 8-15). In his royal inscriptions Esarhaddon uses his old name, but in one inscription as crown-prince he has [Aššur-etil-mu]kīn-apli mār šarri rābū ša bīt redūti (Ibid 30, 1).
7. ABL 355 refers also to the ominous significance of names; (6-7) pi-iš-ri ša šu-me; (13-14) pi-iš-ra-a-te ša šu-me ša i t i . m e š .
8. On the range of contents of omens see A. L. Oppenheim, Or 5 (1936) 199-228. On methods of divination and omen literature see the same author, Anc. Mes., Ch. IV 206-227; RAI XIV (1966) 33-34; G. Contenau, La divination chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens, 1940.
9. Private and public omens were usually collected separately by Assyrian and Babylonian scholars, though occasionally both

types may occur in the same collection, e.g. Alu, which consists mainly of private omens, has some omens affecting the king (e.g. Tablet 41). On the distinction between private and public omens see Oppenheim, Dreams, p.239. The use of divination techniques (teratoscopy, astrology) was confined mainly to the court, while most private omens are based on occurrences of everyday life.

10. The largest collections of private omens were known as Summa alu ina mele sakin, "if a town is set on a hill" and Summa izbu "if a foetus". Alu was published in CT 38-40 and transliterated and translated by F. Nötscher, Or. 31; 39-42; 51-54 (1928-30). An up-to-date edition is overdue. A new edition of Izbu is to be published by E. V. Leichty (see his paper in RAI XIV 1966, 131-139). Other important texts are published as R. Labat, CB11; TDP; F. R. Kraus, TBP; ZA 43 (N.F.9) (1936) 77-113; Oppenheim, Dreams; G. Pettinato, Ölwahrsagung II.

11. See Ch. I 2:1 for infant mortality. TDP, Tablet 35 consists entirely of omens connected with childbirth.

12. The same major preoccupations are evident in curses and blessings. See below.

13. e.g. CT 38 10 8; Dreams, p.310, x+5; x+8; x+18; x+20; p.319, x+13; x+15.

14. Note the description of 5 brothers and 1 sister as d u m u . m e ^v PN in the adoption document UAZP 22 7, probably to avoid a clumsy construction (d u m u . m e ^v ū d u m u . SAL PN). It is not known whether māre(pl.) includes daughters in any other text, e.g. CH 119; 135; 137-8; 144-6; 163; 167; 170-1; 173-6; 190. See Ch. II n.64. Note that Sum. d u m u = "child", differentiated as d u m u . n i t a and d u m u . SAL, possibly representing distinct terms for which the readings are unknown, (so A. Poebel, Sum. Gramm 124). See M. David, BiOr 4/2 (1947) 46-8; A. van Praag, Droit matrimonial p.32.

15. Possibly TUR = sibru(m), šerru, lakū, "child".

16. e.g. Dreams, p.310 VII r.ii x+11 where it is predicted that the d u m u will become "important" (d u g u d = kabtu); vii r.i x+15f: d u m u ū . t u -ma n a m . l u g a l . l a d ū-us "he will become king".

17. Note also the hint of common myths about virility in BRM 4 22 (TBP p.16, No. 76) d i ^v s g i ^v s g i ^v d . d a -ma u ka-bar l ū

b i n i t á . m e š ũ . t u, "If the penis is long and thick, that man will have male children".

18. G. Pettinato, Ölwahrsagung II Text I, p. 176 and n. 17; p. 184.

19. On the significance of the zākīr sumi, see Ch. IV 1 p. 176 and n. 17; p. 184.

20. See following section p. 127-8 and Glossary.

21. On seals in Mesopotamia see G. R. Driver, Semitic Writing (1948) 62-63.

22. See W. Schulz, "Der Namenglaube bei den Babyloniern und Assyriern", in Anthropos 26 (1932) 895-928, esp. 898-9 and 914-6; Driver, BabL II p. 292. This concept is common to many Semitic languages.

23. For all these terms see Glossary, S.V.

24. cf. also Surpu IV 24-5: e-ri-tú ga-du ša š a -šā sul-lu-mu su-'-lu-du su-mu sur-su-u, "To keep well the pregnant woman together with her baby (lit. "what is inside her"), to bring to birth, to produce posterity".

25. Collections of astrological texts were published by R. C. Thompson, RMA; R. Labat CB11; C. Virolleaud, Ach.; cf. also W. G. Lambert, RAI XIV (1966) 119-123; E. G. Klauber, Politisch-religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit (1913). Royal omens are included among those published by A. Goetze, YOS 10; A. Boissier, Choix; DA.

26. See especially R. Labat, Royauté, III/1.

27. See Ch. I n. 132.

28. Izbu.

29. e.g. ACh. Suppl. II XIIIa II 5 (usurpation by brother); XX 8; CT 27 22 17 (1ā bēl kussi) 23 25f; 34 23; 28 11 10; LBAT 1521 12: la li-ip l u g a l g i š . g u . z a [d i b], "One not of royal descent will seize the throne"; BRM 4 15; 23.

30. See in general J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung, (1939), abbreviated as ANG in following notes.

31. Examples are given in the Glossary under the individual terms.

32. The other main types are the Ersatznamen, discussed in Ch. I 2:1, and names which express and reinforce the bonds of kinship between members of the conjugal household, e.g. Māri-ummi (VS 13, 79 r.5 = 79a r.6) Ahu-illikam (CPN 51b); Ahu-sina (EBPN 63b) (f) Sitti-ummisa (CPN 132b) (f) Ahat-ahhi (PBS 14 341); In-abišu (AJSL 29 195 r.5); cf. also "pet-names", e.g. Dadiya, "my darling" (NN 52a), Bibanu, "our baby" (NN 49) Immeriya "my lamb" (NN 76b); (f) Duššuptum "sweet one" BA 6/5 89b, etc. See ANG 35, pp.247-248.

33. References are given to the main collections of personal names (where fuller references and more examples may be found): (K. Tallqvist) APN; (H. Ranke) EBPN; (A. T. Clay) CPN; (K. Tallqvist) NN; (E. Ebeling) Eigennamen (MAOG 13/1). See HKL and Bibliography for full titles.

34. See ANG 7:1, pp.37-8. In the LB period names of the form DN-māra - ittanu (for ittadna) appear for the first time. (Ibid p.38) For bīnu in PN, see Glossary. For other types of PN, which may contain māru(m) and mārtu(m), see Glossary.

35. See Glossary.

36. See Ch. VI 2. p. 233.

37. ANG 7 pp.39f; 41f. See CAD 1/2 176b for aplu(m).

38. e.g. (OB) BE 6/2 (Sum.) 48 7-8: PN i b i l a ^v s e ^v s . g a l PN₂ ^v s e ^v s . a . n i u PN₃ ^v s e ^v s . a . n e . n e "PN the heir, the eldest brother, PN₂ his brother, and PN₃ their brother"; VS 8 73 7-9: 10 ma-ri-e PN li-ir-^vsi-i-ma PN₂ i b i l a -šu, "Even if PN obtains 10 sons, PN₂ (the adoptive son) is his heir" (but could mean "still his heir", i.e. alongside natural sons) cf. (Mari) ARM 8, 1 21-21. Note also i b i l a dannu(m) in OB royal inscriptions (never māru(m) dannu(m)) e.g. CH Prologue iva 69-70. (MB) see Ch. IV 1:2 for aplu nāq mē(pl.); (SB) Theodicy 249 (BWL p.84) i-na su-qī zi-lul-li [s^v] i-sa-a-a-ad ap-lum, "The heir roams around the streets like a peddler" (for context see Glossary under tardennu, duppussū). Note Lex ÁVI/1 1 99 (See Glossary under aplu(m).) See above, p. 90.

39. e.g. in the LB Egibi family (see A. Ungnad, Afo 14 57-64): Nabū-zēra-iqīša and Nabū-apla-iddin; Nabū-šuma-ēres^v and Nabū-

^ysuma-ibni; in the Nappahu family (see AnOr 12 319-26 No. 7/1); in the NA royal family Aššur-banī-apli and Šamaš-šuma-usur are examples; cf. also BBS 9 i va 20 where Mār-bīti-šuma-ibni is described as māru tardennu, "younger son". There are no cases known to the author of two brothers with names in aplu(m).

40. e.g. (OB) CT 45 29 23: š e š . š e š . n e -^usa ap-lu-^usa, "Her brothers are her heirs; (SB) KAR 380 61: i b i l a . m e š -^usu g a z -^usu, "his heirs will kill him" (omen).

41. 2:2:4, p. 91.

42. PN including ahu(m)/ahhē(pl.), "brother(s)" clearly refer to later born sons. See Glossary under ahu(m).

43. e.g. Oakk) Šumu-kīn (MAD 3 p.274); (OB) Ahum-kīnum (YOS 8 128 6 & 8f.); (MB) Ea-mukīn-zēri (APN 72b); (NB/NA) Nabū-kīn-zēri (APN 152b); Nabū-zēra-ukīn (Ibid 164b); (NA) Sīn-pir'a-ukīn (Ibid 210b), and passim in all collections. See ANG 7 10 (pp.45-48); (MN) Zēru-kēnu (Eigennamen 94)

44. See Hwb. I p.481.

45. e.g. Išdu-kīnu (APN 103b); Bēl-išdiya-kīni (59a); Nabū-išdi(ya)-kīn (151a); cf. also (Oakk) MAD 3 p.289, under ŠRŠ šuršum "root".

46. See n.45. Also (MB) Ildaḫiya (=Išdi-aḫiya), CPN 85b; (NB) Adad-išdi-ēreš VS 6 276 10; (NA) Išdi-Nergal APN 104b.

47. Possibly because omens tend to express the immediate wish for the birth and survival of a child, while names look forward to the child's future.

48. See in general S. A. B. Mercer, "The Malediction in Cuneiform Inscriptions" in JAOS 34 (1914) 282-309.

49. Mainly royal inscriptions on stone stelae, statues or parts of buildings, commemorating military achievements and building works. Curses are also found regularly on the MB "boundary

stones" (kudurru). (All these monuments are discussed in more detail in section 2 below.) Curses also occur occasionally in NB/NA private contracts (e.g. BR 8/7 3; Aru 45;46;47) and in a few colophons of literary texts e.g. KAR 143 24-5; Poor Man of Nippur (AnSt 6 p.159) 7-8; Šurpu 8 45-6. The earliest known example of a curse (in Sumerian) occurs on the Stela of the Vultures (VAB 1 31f.).

50. For an illustration of the concept of divine justice, see the hymn published by Schollmeyer HGS No. 16, praising the justice of Šamaš. Of the man who deals unfairly it states: ul i-be-el i b i l a -šú, "His heir does not come to own (his property)", while of the just, good man it states: ú-[rap]-pa-áš kim-ta meš-ra-a i-ra-áš-ši ki-ma a . m e š naq-bi da-ri-i n u m u n da-[ri], "He (Šamaš) extends his kin, he becomes rich, his 'seed' is everlasting like the waters of an eternal spring".

51. e.g. (OAKk) AfO 20 p.51 (Sargon b 15) 37-44.

52. Inscription of Naram-Sin.

53. Inscription of Adad-nirari I.

54. On the meaning of these terms see Appendix: 3. Inscription of Adad-nirari I.

55. Kudurru of Merodach-baladan I.

56. Note also KAR 143 (VAT 9555) 25 m u -šú n u m u n -šú ina k u r li-se-lu-ú u z u . m e š -šú ina pi-i ša kal-bi liš-kun-[u] (".....may his flesh be put into the mouth of a dog"). In PEA Pl.3 ii 10-11, the same punishment is inflicted by human agency: an-nu kab-tu e-mid-su-nu-ti u-hal-li-ga n u m u n -šun, "I inflicted a severe punishment on them; I annihilated their seed" (Esarhaddon).

57. Inscription of a king of the Lullubi. The reference is given as p.168 in error on p.274 of MAD 3.

58. Note also Idrimi 93-97; cf. (MA) WVDOG 46 Pl.I (JCS 8 p.32) iii 14 - iv 2: šu-um-šu ù pa-ra-aš-šu - infinitive of vb. parāhu(m), "to sprout forth"?

59. s u h u š -su li-zu-ḥa ù š e . n u m u n -su li-il-gu-da.

60. s u h u š -su li-zu-ḥa ù š e . n u m u n -su li-il-gu-du.

61. Sometimes written syllabically, e.g. BBS 8 iii 27: e-^vsi-
is-su li-is-su-[h]u. Note especially the curses on the kudurru
fragment published ZA 9 p.390 (LL.4'-7'): m u -^vsu lip-^vsi-du
ku-dur-ra-^vsu li-iš-ba-ri n u m u n -^vsu lil-ku-tum, "erase his
name (from the monument), break up his kudurru (and) gather up
his seed". Here a connection between progeny and preservation
of identity by written monuments is made explicit. cf. also
BR 8/7 No. 3 (TuM II/III 8) 29 m u -^vsu lip-^vsit. These concepts
are discussed in section 2 below.

62. Many of the OAkK. inscriptions containing curses were
copied in the OB period as part of the literary tradition. See
H. Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963) 1ff.

63. A certain amount of flexibility may be observed in the
construction of phrases around the basic terminology. Note for
example the passive construction in BBS 36 vi 50-51.

64. e.g. (OB) CH Epilogue xxviii b 44: i b i l a ; (M/NB) BBS 8
iv 20; 9 ii 18-19; MDP 2 pp.109-110 vii 9-10: i b i l a (u)
nāq mē(pl.).

65. See n.45 and n.46 above.

66. See Glossary.

67. See also AnSt 6 p.159 L.8.

68. To be compared with curse material is the terminology of a
passage in Surpu 8 45-6 which refers to the "evil machinations
of men": šá a-na ka-a-šá a-na é -ka a-na n u m u n -ka a-na
n u n u z -ka it-ta-nab-^vsu-^v it-ta-nap-ri-ku it-ta-na-an-ma-ru,
"which to you; your family, your descendants, your progeny keep
happening, keep obstructing, and appear again and again".

69. Or possibly read pappaltu "semen".

70. Published by R. D. Biggs š á . z i . g a, Ancient Mesopotamian
Poetry Incantations, 1967.

71. e.g. MSP 4 Pl. 11 p.160 ii 21; CT 23 10 18 (see p.134)

72. On these phrases see section 2, pp. 149-50; 155-6.

73. See above, pp. 129-131.

74. But cf. MDP 6 p.38-9 L.27: a-[a] i-zi-bu da-ad-da-^vsu, "do
not leave (even) his favourite child".

75. Explicit emphasis on male offspring is very rare in curses, as terms like šumu(m) and zēru(m) carry in such contexts the meaning of "male posterity". zikarum, "male", occurs in a few OAk. curses, e.g. AfO 20 p.55 (Rimūš b) r.iv=^{xviii} 39-45; see above UET 1 276ⁱⁱ 20-21.
76. For this reason mārū(pl.) may be used in blessings as in treaties or oaths. The person to whom the blessing applies is specified and may be known to have children already.
77. V. Scheil RT 19 44ff.
78. On the origin of the chief scribe of Aššuruballit see C. J. Gadd, CAH(2) II/XVIII pp.25-26.
79. For references and discussions see Glossary. This concept and its origins are discussed in section 2 of this Chapter.
80. See Ch. IV 2, pp.189-90 for a similar concept of reciprocity in the context of royal ancestor worship.
81. cf. also LL.39-40: sa-lam m u -ia liš-ša-kin ina k a -šu-un, "May the image of my name be set in their (the gods') mouths".
82. cf. also the LB royal prayer VAB 4 84 No. 6 ii 12-15 (and passim): ru-up-pi-ši zi-ri-im šu-un-di-li na-an-na-bi "extend the progeny, spread wide the offspring".
83. On this phrase see JAOI 61 (1941) p.258.
84. Greetings in a number of other NA officials' letters to the king wish for continuity of the dynasty, e.g. ABL 2; 334; 1258; 1370.
85. See especially R. Labat, Royaute, III/I. Note that the passage quoted above (BA 3 p.254) refers to the king's šangūtu-role, rather than šarrūtu, i.e. his cultic rather than political role.
86. II Pl. 49/III.
87. Winckler, Sargon I p.191; II Pl. 49/III. See ZDMG 98 35 b.
88. LL.6-8.
89. This inscription may be apocryphal. See below, VI n.39.
90. Private votive texts are usually very brief, referring only to the life and health of the recipient.
91. Expiation ritual.
92. Reconstructed from the two broken passages of the Legend

- of Etana and the Eagle. Context unfortunately broken.
93. cf. also hymn BMS 9 38: s u m -at [i b i l a u ˇ s e . n u m u n] , "giver of heir and descendants". Note also for the importance of sons among the ancient Hebrews Gen. 30:1.
94. monēre = "to warn, advise".
95. See below p.151.
96. Babylonian royal monuments are rare by comparison with Assyrian examples. The best bibliographical work dealing with Assyrian royal inscriptions (of the 2nd millenium) is R. Borger, EAK, which has largely superseded A. Schott, Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Keilschriftliteratur, 1936. For translations, see D. D. Luckenbill, ARAB.
97. "Anrede an spätere Fürsten" is the term adopted by Borger, EAK, for these passages in Assyrian royal inscriptions. In fact the future ruler is not apostrophised, but referred to by the 3rd person precativ in lu-, "May he, etc..".
98. narû is also applied to the "boundary stones", to which the term kudurru is also often applied (see below p.152). In Assyriological literature, narû-texts are a special type of historical text. See Güterbock, ZA 42 1ff.
99. See EAK, p.46. These phrases occur first apparently in the standard curse of Adad-nirari I.
100. See M. B. Rowton, CAH(2) I/VI pp.31-2.
101. palû may mean "dynasty" here. See below and n.79 above.
102. luddi is not used only for palaces, for which it could be imagined that there might be less religious motivation for their restoration, e.g. OIP II 139 L.63 luddi used of rebuilding a temple.
103. Pre-OB examples show the same concern, e.g. Rimuš b7(Afo 20 pp.64-65) r.x=xxiv 22-49: ma-na-ma m u Ri-mu-uš l u g a l K i š i u-ša-za-k(u-ma) a l d ù l (salam) Ri-mu-uš m u -su i-sa-ga-nu-ma d ù l -mi-me i-ga-pi-ù (d)En-líl be-al d ù l šu4-a ù (d)U t u s u h u š -su li-zu-ha ù ˇ s e . n u m u n -su li-il-gu-da, etc. "Whoever overturns the name of Rimuš, king of Kiš, puts his own name upon the statue of Rimuš, and says 'It is my statue', may Enlil, lord of this statue, and Šamaš tear up his root and scatter his seed, etc." ; Gudea Stat.B 9 22-23: "Whoever" m u . m u ù . t a . g a r m u . n i b a . g á . g á "erases my name and puts his own name".

104. mušaru first occurs in the MB period, e.g. MDP 14 32; BE 15 67; VS 1 34.

105. Note also that Hammurabi named a fortress Dūr-Sîn-muballit after his father, and so: zi-kir (d)E n . z u -mu-ba-li-it a-bi-im wa-li-di-ia in ki-ib-ra-tim lu-u-š[e]-š[ib], "I made the name of Sin-muballit ^{my father} to dwell in the (four) quarters (of the world)", (King, LIH 95 59-62).

106. Samsi-Adad does not record that he performed any rite for Erišum, the previous builder of the temple, to whom he refers at the beginning of the inscription. There may have been dynastic reasons for this omission, since Samsi-Adad was a usurper. Note that Samsi-Adad states in his stela inscription (p. 144f.) that he respected the inscription of Maništusu, who was not a native Assyrian king. Maništusu and other kings of the Dynasty of Akkad were, however, held in reverence by later Assyrian kings, and were deified in the Ur III period. (See AfO 20 p.16, for references to (d)Maništusu and sacrifices for Maništusu.)

107. e.g. IR 49 ii (BA 3 p.222) 6-8 (Esarhaddon).

108. See T. Jacobsen, SKL; CJ. Gadd, CAH(2) 1/XIII p.16; Glossary under palû.

109. OAkk examples simply list penalties for "whoever" (mamāna, mannū ^ša) commits an act of impiety, (e.g. AfO 20, p.45 x 47; pp.64-65 22; MDP 2 p.55 iii 1 (^ša)).

110. In Babylonian inscriptions iššiakkum, iššakku refers to any ruler subject to an overlord (< Sum. e n s i). See W. W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles (1957) 34-48; M-J. Seux, Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes (1967) 110-116. In older Assyrian inscriptions it is the usual term for the Assyrian king, implying the overlordship of the god Aššur, of whom the Assyrian king was high priest.

111. S. Smith, The First Campaign of Sennacherib (BM 113203).

112. The same terminology is used by Sargon, e.g. Lie, Sargon, p.82 14.

113. AKA 388ff. The text does, however, refer to the author's descendants. See discussion above, p.136.

114. BBS 34. See above, p.136.

115. Private votive inscriptions normally invoke divine protection for the author alone or sometimes for his wife and children (as in diplomatic letters), e.g. VAB 1 pp.158-9. (d a m . d u m u

n a r ^š ^ú). Compare with BBS 34, however, the stela of the NA administrative official, Mušezib-Šamaš (published by H. Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques, No. 1) L.5: a-na da-ra-ti.

116. cf. Deimel, Or 6 62f; Johns, Cuneiform Inscriptions Morgan, p.37.

117. Dupl. with variants VAT 3114.

118. If the subject of this clause is taken to be the dead man, there is ~~xx~~ evidence here of a concept of reciprocity in the relations between the dead and the living (see below Ch. IV pp. 189f.). But a completely different interpretation of the clause is given by G. Dossin, JEOL 10 427 32).

119. There is surprisingly little textual evidence about burials or funerary rites in Mesopotamia, though it is known that proper burial was regarded as an important duty of the living to the dead (see below Ch. IV p. 176). For the archaeological evidence see A. Haller, WVDOG 65 (1953); A. Parrot, Refrigerium, pp.20-31; Malédictiones et violations de tombes (1939), pp.9-14; royal burials are mentioned in WZKM 12 60ff. (See ZA 43 255ff.); ABL 437 and in the basalt stela of Nabonides (see Ch. IV pp. 168f.). See discussion by Landsberger, In memoriam Halil Edhem, pp.115-151.

120. Or, in the absence of a seal, the nailmark (supru). See CAD 16 251b-252b; G. R. Driver, Semitic Writing, pp.62-63; G. Boyer, SD 2 208ff.

121. e.g. BBS 8 (Pl. LIV); MDP 10 87ff. (Pl. 11). Kudurrū were probably copies of sealed clay tablets, cf. BBS 3 vi 26-32; 25 39-40.

122. e.g. BBS 3 iii 23-28; 4 i 13-14; 14 10-13 (no witnesses).

123. Sum. i n . p à (d) (sing.) or i n . p à d . d è . è s̃ (pl.). Akk. itmu, itmu.

124. e.g. TCL 1 30:19 (OB): [nīš] (d) šamaš (d) Marduk u u r u . k i; BIN 4 112 33 & passim in OA: ni-is A-lim(Ki) u r u b a ' i m .

125. e.g. ADD 711 r.3 (Aru 55 14); ADD 780:12: DN lu bēl dīnišu. Note especially ADD 476 r.2 (Aru 185 11): a-di-e ša l u g a l lu e n (bēl) di-ni-šu "May the Oath by the (life of the) king be his opponent in court".

126. kudurrū were protected by maledictions (see below and 1:3:1 above), and were carved with the emblems of deities. (See photographs in BBS Plates and NBSt. 1 9 (pp.71-115) and illustrations.)

127. LL.22-24: m u (d) E n (d) N i n - u r t a (d) E n š a d a ū K u r i g a l z u l u g a l . e u r . b i i n . p à . d è . è s̃. "By the life of Bel, Ninurta, Nusku and King Kurigalzu they have sworn together" (Sum. formula in Akk. contract).

128. On clauses prohibiting breach of contract in OB contracts see in general M. San Nicolò, Die Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge, 1922, and F. R. Kraus, JCS 3 pp.98-109. In most OB contracts of sale both buyer and seller swore to the terms, but already in S. Babylonian contracts onesided renunciation by the seller was more common. In later contracts these clauses only affect the seller. San Nicolò, (op. cit. section 3 [pp.103-117]) attributes this to the development of a distinction between sale and exchange, with the growing use of currency instead of kind.

129. OB and OA contracts also occasionally impose penalties. Adoption contracts, of which by far the largest number comes from the OB period, usually impose penalties (See Ch. II). OA contracts are rare - most OA legal documents are concerned with mercantile transactions. The few family law contracts contain clauses against breach of contract, e.g. ARK 3 (TCL 4 122) x+3 -

x+8: a-hu-um a-na a-hi-im la i-tu-ar ša i-tu-ru-ni 5 m a . n a
 k ù . b a b b a r i-da-an [ù] i-du-ku-šu, "One will not reopen
 proceedings against the other; anyone who does reopen proceedings
 shall pay 5 mina of silver and (or?) they will kill(?)him."
 (Divorce). The latter penalty, if the verb is dāku(m)/duāku(m)
 "to execute, to order capital punishment" (CAD Vol. 3 p.40b 2b1'),
 appears disproportionately severe, even as a deterrent, but cf.
 NA penalties of child sacrifice below. Possibly some other
 verb is intended here, meaning a physical forfeit of some kind
 (cf. NA penalties below n.149). ARK 10 (TCL 14 73) LL. 10-11
 has: i-na i-dī-nim i-du-ku-uš, and Gelb. Ališar 19a 16-17:
i-GA-ab-ra-tim i-da-ku-šu, neither of which phrases can be
 satisfactorily explained. MA clauses providing against breach
 of contract are succinct: tuāru ū dabābu laššu "There shall be
 no reopening or disputing (of the matter)" (e.g. KAJ passim).
 MA adoption contracts often contain penalties, e.g. ARU 3 (VAT
 8802 = KAJ 6) 17-20; ARU 6 (VAT 8965 = KAJ 4) L.21. A few OB
 contracts from Larsa impose a fine on anyone who disputes the
 contract, e.g. SLB I/II 26: 19-20 (½ mina of silver). See ArOr
 18/4 p.46f. Physical penalties are sometimes mentioned in
 contracts from OB Mari and MB Alalakh.

150. Typical vocabulary includes - Bab.: tāru(m) "to return"
 (Sum. g e4 . g e4); ragāmu(m) "to complain" (Sum. g ù . g á . g á)
 with the derived noun rugumū(m) "complaint"; baqāru(m) (MB on
paqāru) "to lay claim to" (cf. OB ana baqrim izuzzum "to stand as
 guarantor against a claim"); dina(m) gerā "to start a lawsuit."
 See San Nicolò Schlussklauseln, sections 2 and 4; Ass.: tuāru(m)
 "to return"; dēna dabābu bu'ū "institute legal proceedings";
 (dēna) gerū, "to start a lawsuit"; and (NA only) parāku "to
 obstruct, object", and zaqāpu "to appear in court to lodge a
 complaint". e.g. OB: UAZP 86 (BE 6/1 13) 25-29: a-na wa-ar-ki-
at u4-mi-im la i-tu-ru-ma la e-ra-gu-mu m u (d)u t u (d)A m a r .
 u d Za-bi-um [u (uru)] (ki)Z i m b i r . k i i n . p à . d è .
 è š; MB: BE 14 40 L.21: ul g ù . n u . g á . g á . a u l g ù .
 n u . g e4 . g e4 (= Akk. ul iraggumū ul itarrū); NB: BBS 27
 (Stone tablet) r.8-9: ru-gu-um-ma-a ul t u g(-ū) ul [i-ta-ar-ru-ma]
ul i-rag-gu-mu "There shall be no claim; they shall not reopen the
 case or make a claim". (The same phrase is used in NB clay
 tablets, e.g. BR 8/7 9' (TMH II/III 12) 17-18: [rugumma u] i-ši
ul i-tu-ur-ma ana a-ha-]meš (against each other) ul i-rag-⟨rag⟩-
gu-mu; Ibid, 5; 13; 14 (passim) 15, and passim). OA and MA,
 see above n.129. NA: ADD 308 (= Aru 57) 13-15, 19-22: man-nu ša ina
ur-kiš i-na ma-te-ma i-za-qu-pa-a-ni g i l -u-ni šā t a

(itti) PN d u m u . m e š d u m u . d u m u . m e š di-e-nu
d u₁₁ . d u₁₁ . m e š (dabābu) ub-ta-u-ni "Whoever in the future
 on any occasion stands up in court and makes an objection
 who institutes legal proceedings against PN, his sons or grandsons".
 (On the vocabulary of clauses in NA contracts see ADD III 597-
 623.)

131. TLB I No.26 (LB 1038) possibly from another site (see Leemans,
SLB I/II p.41). See following notes.

132. e.g. UAZP 89 (BE 6/1 33) part of patrimony bought from
 younger brother; 99 (BE 6/1 7) prebend in Amurru temple,
 described as b a l . g u b . b a , "inheritance" (?), bought by
 two brothers; 104 (BE 6/1 64) repurchase of patrimony
 formerly sold (all Nippur documents). TLB I No.26 concerns land
 bought from a man and his son (see n.133 below).

133. e.g. TLB I No.26 14-21: u₄ . k ú r . š è PN ù PN₂
 d u m u . n i i b i l a . n e . n e a . n a m e . a . b i é .
 š è g ū . n u . u m . g á . g á ba-qi-ra-nu-um x-x xxxx $\frac{1}{2}$ ma.
 n a k ū . b a b b a r i . n a . a n . l a m u l u g a l . l a .
 b i i n . p à . "That in future PN and PN₂ his son (and) their
 heirs, however many they may be, shall not make a claim for the
 land, a claimant shall pay $\frac{1}{2}$ mina of silver, he has sworn by the
 king". On Nippur and Isin contracts of this type see F. R. Kraus
JCS 3 90-91.

134. PBS 8, 27: 14ff.: u₄ . k ú r . š è PN ù i b i l a PN₂
 a . n a . m e . a . b i g ū . m u . u m . g á . g á . n e m u
 l u g a l . b i i n . p à d . d è . e š , in which PN₂ is the
 father of PN. See San Nicolò, op. cit p.66, n.33.

135. e.g. BR 8/7: 5 (TMH II/III 9) 15-18: ma-ti-ma ina e g i r .
 m e š u₄ . m e š ina š e š . m e š d u m u . m e š i m . r i .
 a (kimti) ni-su-tú u sa-lat lu š á é PN a PN₂ lu š á é [PNF]
 š á e₁₁ (illam)-ma a-na u g u a . š à [šu-a-tú] i-di-b-bu-ub
ú-šad-ba-bu, "In the future on any occasion any one of the brothers
 sons, family, kin and relatives of the house of PN, son of PN₂,
 or of the house of PNF who rises up and disputes or causes someone
 else to dispute, etc." Here PNF is the seller of the land and
 PN, who does not occur in the rest of the contract is possibly
 her husband (so San Nicolò BR 8/7 p.12). BBS 30 mentions the
 brothers, sons, etc., of the father of the seller (20-22). BBS 3
 v 28-31 has: i-na š e š . m e š d u m u . m e š i m . r i . a
 (kimtu or nisutu?) u sa-la-ti š á é PN ma-la ba-šu-ú ("as many
 as there may be") š á il-lam-ma, etc. In such cases (see also

BBS 6 ii 27; 8 iii 4; 9 i 31) é PN is the name of the territory owned by the clan and PN is the ancestor of the clan (see Ch. I: 3). MDP 6 pp.31ff. iv (Pl. IX) 9-11 mentions any member of the family of one of the neighbouring landowners (cf. i 12-14).

136. In some cases the possible claimants are not listed at all, e.g. ADD 241 (= Aru 73) 15ff. (mannu sa, etc.) and passim ADD. ADD 237 (Aru 71) 10 has: lu-u PN lu-u m i n₄ (manma)-nu-sú, "whether PN or anyone belonging to him". Sometimes (e.g. ADD 427 (186)) the brothers and nephews are mentioned and not the sons. Probably in these cases the seller had no sons and his brothers were his heirs (see Ch. II and ADD III p.316).

137. e.g. ADD 481 (Aru 162); 243 (207); 349 (340); 365 (370); 407 (416) and passim. Where the heirs of the seller are mentioned, the sons and grandsons are usually mentioned as affected by the possible claim, e.g. 66;86;96;105;106, and passim.

138. e.g. ADD 360 (Aru 373) 13-20: man-nu sa ina ur-kiš a-na ma-te-ma i-zaq-qup-an-ni lu-u PN lu-u dum u . m e š -sú lu-u dum u . dum u . m e š -sú lu-u pab . m e š -sú lu-u dum u . pab . m e š -sú sa di-e-nu du₁₁ . du₁₁ ta PN₂ dum u . m e š -sú u dum u . dum u . m e š -sú ub-ta-'-u-ni,

"Whoever on any occasion in the future appears in court to lodge a complaint, whether PN or his sons, or his sons' sons or his brothers or his brothers' sons, who institutes legal proceedings against PN₂, his sons or his sons' sons". The same wording occurs in more than thirty of the documents published in ADD. On persons likely to claim in NA contracts in general see Johns ADD III 600.

139. See also ADD III pp.319-328.

140. e.g. BBS 6 ii 27: lu-u i-na dum u . m e š PN lu-u ma-am-ma sa-nu-um-ma "Whether one of the sons of PN or a stranger (i.e. not a member of the clan)". BBS 4 ii 15: u lu a-a-um-ma dum u ma-am-ma-na-ma "Or anyone, son of anybody" (after list of officials) ADD 246 r.4 (Aru 82 17): lu-u me-me-ni-sú-nu "or anyone belonging to them"; ADD 471 r.3 (Aru 167 29): [lu-u] m i n₄ -ma-nu-sú-nu.

141. See below.

142. On abbe = "kinsmen" see Appendix: 1. On marē = "descendants" see preceding section.

143. See JCS 3 149-156 (more than 125 years).

144. e.g. ADD 659 (Aru 8) 6; 492 (432) 7.

145. e.g. BBS 2 B 9: (ma-ti-ma a-na la-bar u₄-mi); 11 ii 1 (ma-ti-

ma i-na la-bar u4 . m e [✓]s); MDP 6 Pl. IX iii 24-26 (ma-ti-ma a-na u4-um sa-a-ti a-na la-bar u4-mi); ana um sâti is common in LB contracts (see CAD 16 p.178a: 1a) 4').

146. e.g. ADD 641 (Aru 44) 15-26; 640 (45) 16-17 (benediction: (d)Nin-urta ik-ri-bi-ka i-[✓]sim-me L.15); MVAG 1903 p.19ff, p.27. (cf. RT 1898 p.202) (Aru 46) 13-15; ADD 619 (Aru 47) 22-24. Maledictions occur also in LB deeds, e.g. Nbk. 198;283;368; Cyr. 277: 17-19 (published in translit. in Tallqvist, Schenkungs-briefe (Deeds of gift). On the content of curses see 1:3:1. Some OB contracts have the phrase limûn DN and/or KN sa awât/pī tuppim annim unakkara, "The evil of DN and/or KN be upon him who alters the contents of this tablet". See San Nicolò 46/48.

147. e.g. BBS 1;2;4;5;6;8; MDP 2 86ff; 99ff; 10 87ff, and passim.

148. e.g. BBS 3 v 26; 8 i 13 (a-na sa-ti); 9 i 29. Note MDP 2 99ff iii 51-54; i-na n a4 . r u . a is-tur-ma i-na u g u a . s a -[✓]su a-na ku-dur da-ra-a-ti i-zi-ib "I (the king) wrote (the exemptions from service) on a stela and left it on his land for an enduring kudurru", and the name of BBS 7 (1-3 and ii 40): mu-ki-in ku-dur-ri da-ra-ti "Establisher-of-enduring-boundaries".

149. These include large fines to the local temple, the sacrifice of horses and harbakannû or hurbakannû (some kind of horse or donkey, see CAD 6 p.96b-97a), and occasionally children (ADD 310 (Aru 158); ADD 436 (Aru 163); 474 (96a)) to a deity, fines to the treasury of the local governor, and physical forfeits, e.g. ADD 474; 244 (159); ADD 481 (162) and 436, in which the drinking of "the contents of a prescribed agannu vessel (see CAD I/1 p. 143a (b)) and the eating of s u . t a b . b a (474; 491; 436) or s i g . g i r . d u (244), both of obscure meaning, are required. ADD 481 also stipulates the piercing of the tongue of the offender. All these penalties affect the mouth, the instrument of the offence. On OA and OB penalties see above, n.129, For a discussion of penalties in NA contracts see Johns ADD III pp.333-370.

150. Published by Weidner, Afo 8 (1932/3) 17ff. On treaties in general see A. L. Oppenheim, Anc. Mes. 284ff.

151. See especially Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, 1923 (PDK). For treaties in Hittite see V. Korošec, Hethitische Staatsverträge, 1931. On OB treaties, referred to in the Mari letters, see J. M. Munn-Rankin, Iraq 18 pp.84-94.

152. Published by D. J. Wiseman, The Vassal-treaties of Esarhaddon, London, 1958, and Iraq 20 (1958) 1-99 Pls. 1-53.

153. Pls. 6;38.

154. Pl. 5.

155. e.g. PDK No. 1 L.71, 73-4 (blessing); ANET p.203-5 (references to sons and grandsons and possible word for kin in Hittite version, this part of Akk. version not preserved; cf. PDK 5).

156. See Ch. V pp.203f.

157. LL.21-27 concern the beheading of a ram symbolizing Mati'ilu, his sons and subjects. The Aram.treaty of Mati'ilu published Afo 8 1-16 provides further parallels. cf. also JAOS 81 (1961) 178-222. On OB references to sacrifices in connection with the conclusion of treaties see Munn-Rankin, loc. cit. p.90. On curses, etc. in Near Eastern treaties, see C. Fensham, ZAW 74 (1962) 1ff.

158. ABL 1239; ABL 1105 is a broken treaty of Aššurbanipal.

159. See Ch. II on evidence concerning the succession of Aššurbanipal. (pp.82-5).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Mesopotamian Cult of Ancestors

Introduction

Ancestor worship, defined as "action taken to assist or propitiate deceased kin"⁽¹⁾ is attested for all periods in Mesopotamia as elsewhere in the ancient Near East.⁽²⁾ The factors determining the existence and importance of ancestor worship in a society have not been clearly revealed by comparative study. Scheinfeld indeed has shown⁽³⁾ that all societies which practise ancestor worship have the institution of inheritance of property, but the evidence examined by him does not permit the conclusion that inheritance is a necessary^{condition} of the existence of ancestor worship.

Just as the Mesopotamian cult of the gods entailed provision of the "physical" needs of the gods, particularly the provision of regular meals placed as offerings in front of their images, so the ghosts of the dead, too, required provision of their needs. The person responsible for the care of a ghost was known as a pāqidu(⁽⁴⁾m) (literally "one who takes care of or attends to") and seems in most cases to have been a relative of the deceased. If a ghost's needs were not fulfilled, he would wander the earth and haunt the living.

1. The Non-royal Ancestor Cult

There is a notable lack of specific evidence relating to ancestor worship among the people of Mesopotamia, as compared with the evidence of the royal ancestor cult (discussed below). Most of the available evidence comes from the incantations accompanying expiatory rituals used by exorcists⁽⁵⁾ to avert the harmful effects of ghosts on their kin and others.⁽⁶⁾ Such sources, referring to neglect of the ancestor cult, often provide valuable

indirect evidence for the practice of the regular ancestor cult, besides expressing the attitude towards and conception of the ghosts of dead kin, a subject for which omens and personal names also provide evidence. Unfortunately these same sources provide very little evidence of specific details of the regular cult or of the extent of the obligations of the cult in terms of numbers of generations, a crucial point which is discussed in section 1:2 below.

1:1 Attitudes towards dead kin

Evidence to be discussed below suggests that ancestor worship among the people of Mesopotamia, by contrast with the royal cult, did not extend to ancestors who were outside living memory. Nevertheless, the evidence of attitudes towards recently dead kin enables a connection to be made between the relationship of living kin and that between more remote ancestors and their descendants. The relationship which persisted between kin for some time after a death incorporated, as might be expected, both projections of living roles and new roles arising out of the supernatural nature of the spirits of the dead.

The incantations accompanying expiatory rituals, in summarising the forms of neglect that may have led a ghost to haunt the living, often provide indirectly a summary of the essential services given by the pāqīdu, e.g. CT 16 10 r.5-14: lu-u e-tīm-mu la qeḇurum (at-tu) lu-u e-tīm-mu šá pa-qi-da la i-šú-ú (at-tu) lu-ú e-tīm-mu šá ka-sip kis-pi la i-šú-ú (at-tu) [lu-ú] e-tīm-mu šá na-aq me-e la i-šú-ú (at-tu) [lu-u] e-tīm-mu šá za-kiḡ šu-me la i-šú-ú (at-tu)⁽⁷⁾ "Whether you be the ghost of one unburied, or whether you be a ghost who has none to take care of him, or whether you be a ghost who has none to make (him) a funerary offering, or whether you be a ghost who has none to make (him) a water offering, or whether you be a ghost who has no-one to call his name". References to nāq mē (⁽⁸⁾pl.) occur also in curses

on kudurrū⁽⁹⁾, and the blessing in the NB grave inscription⁽¹⁰⁾ quoted in the last chapter shows the importance of fresh water to the dead. The wretched state in the Underworld of the ghost who has no pāqīdu is described in Gilgamesh XII L.153 in the following terms: šā e-tim-ma-šu pa-qī-da la i-šu-ū ta-mur a-ta-mar šu-ku-la-at di-qa-rē ku-si-pat a-ka-li šā ina su-qī na-da-a ik-ka⁽¹¹⁾, "Have you seen^{him} whose ghost who has no pāqīdu?' 'I have seen (him). He has to eat the dregs of the pot and scraps of food that are thrown down in the street'".

In expiatory rituals references to offering praise and honour to ghosts, as to gods, occur⁽¹²⁾, but this may not have been part of the regular cult. The invocation of the name of the deceased, however, which was an important part of the regular cult⁽¹³⁾, may be compared with the desire of kings for their names to be preserved in writing, discussed in the previous chapter.⁽¹⁴⁾ This latter means of preservation of the personal name after death was only very rarely available to a private person,⁽¹⁵⁾ so that before the LB period and the development of the widespread use of ancestral family names, there is reason to suppose that invocation in the ancestor cult was the only means available to most persons of perpetuation of their name after death. The recurring use of šumu = "name" in expressions of the hopes vested in offspring⁽¹⁶⁾ suggests that the desire for a pāqīdu to keep the individual's name alive after his death may have been an important element in the desire for offspring. References in omens and curses to potential offspring as nāq mē (pl.) and zākir šumi⁽¹⁷⁾ confirm this suggestion. It would, however, be facile to interpret šumu in this restricted sense in all these contexts, as the range of meaning of the term in Akkadian cannot be covered by any one English translation.

The so-called "substitute-names"⁽¹⁸⁾, describing the new member of the household as a substitute for a deceased member, provided

another means of preserving the identity of the recently deceased.

The piety that was expected by the dead of their surviving kin appears to have been mixed with a substantial element of superstitious fear. As a member of the world of spirits the ghost of a dead man⁽¹⁹⁾ was felt to have superhuman powers comparable with those of demons, with which ghosts are sometimes listed in the incantation texts as malevolent powers⁽²⁰⁾.

The superhuman powers of ghosts were believed to be used to affect the living. Occasionally a prayer is explicitly directed to obtaining the intercession of family ghosts in favour of the supplicant, e.g. VAT 13652 (KAR 227) iii 14-15: ina u4-mi aneni-e i g i (d)U t [u] (d)G i s̄ . g i n . [m e s̄] i-ziz-za-nim-ma di-ni di-na e s̄ . b a r -a-a (puru[^]ssa) t a r -sa (pursa), "On this day stand before Sams̄ and Gilgamesh (gods of the Underworld), judge a judgement, decree a decree": Ibid (LKA 89) r.16: a-na a-nu-ti-ku-nu [a . m e s̄] ka-su-ti lu-uk-ki bul-lit-ta-an-ni-[ma da-li-li-ka lud-lul], "I will pour cool water down your water-pipes⁽¹⁹⁾; cure me and I will sing your praises". In OA texts there are references to the invocation of ghosts by female necromancers in order to foretell the future⁽²¹⁾.

Far more common are texts which show the ghosts of the dead as malevolent. Such references are particularly frequent in the incantation literature which includes in the traditional repertory of possible diagnoses of cause of ill-luck the persecution either of a "strange ghost" (etimmu abū) with nobody to care for him or of the sufferer's own kin, e.g. KAR 184 r(!) 11: gidim a-bu-ū ina hur-ba-te is-bat-su "A strange ghost has seized him in a waste place"; BRM 4 18:7: ip-gid-an-ni ana g i d i m b a r -i mur-tap-pi-du sa la i-su-u ni-su-[tu] "She handed me over to a strange, roaming ghost who had no family"; AMT 54: 3 r.9: g i d i m i m . r i . a -su di b . d i b -su "a ghost of his kin has seized him"; KAR 184 23: summa l u s̄ u

g i d i m a d -^vsu u a m a -^vsu d i b . d i b -^vsu "If the hand of the ghost of his father or mother has seized a man.....". Presumably any ghost was potentially harmful, and though it is never explicitly stated that ill-will of one's own family ghosts was due to neglect of their rites, the psychology behind this kind of ritual suggests that the factor disturbing the relations between the man and his dead kin was some ritual or moral omission as in the case of misfortune attributed to an unlucky action affecting living kin or a deity.⁽²²⁾

The appearance of a family ghost was an ominous event and almost always foreboded disaster, e.g. CT 39 25-26 (Alu 19b) 23ff; CT 38 30-31 (21) 1-17.

The emphasis on propitiation of ghosts of kin apparent in these texts may have been less important in the regular cult, but the evidence of these propitiatory rituals suggests that the attitude towards dead kin was affected by projections of tensions between living kin and in particular between the householder and his heirs. Such tensions are evident in most societies in varying degrees⁽²³⁾ and may be explained in psychological or in social terms.

The psychological insights of "Mesopotamian man" are expressed characteristically in terms of the actions of supernatural beings, spirits, genii, demons and ghosts, and the expiatory rituals might be described as the Mesopotamian psychotherapy.⁽²⁴⁾ The most revealing expressions of the experience of guilt arising out of ambivalence in relations between kin are those given in terms of the belief that the consequences of a breach of a ritual or moral taboo could attach to kin. These concepts are expressed in the ritual texts by the terms arnu(m)/annu(m) meaning "sin, crime", including the connotation of consequent punishment, and māmītu(m) "oath"⁽²⁵⁾. Just as a man could be "seized" by a demon or a ghost, he could be "seized" by the arnu(m) or māmītu(m) of

kin, alive or dead.⁽²⁶⁾ Any interpretation of texts of this kind has to be very tentative, as these concepts are central to Mesopotamian religious thinking and difficult of access to a Western way of thought. The most immediate interpretation that suggests itself is that the māmītu abi⁽²⁷⁾ or aran⁽²⁸⁾ arni abi⁽²⁸⁾ was a dangerous action or oath committed by the father and affecting the son, perhaps becoming his responsibility after the father's death. This belief seems to be expressed in the ritual KAR 178 35-52, in which the burden of sins is transferred to an image of the sufferer's dead father,⁽²⁹⁾ who is to take them away into the Underworld, (LL.50-51): (d)U t u ša at-ta ti-di ana-ku la i-du-u k i sa-lam a d -ia ^{ia} Hu-bur li-bir "Šamaš, that which you know, but I do not (i.e. the unidentified sin), may it cross the River Hubur (the river of the Underworld) with the image of my father". CAD I/2 p.297b (1c.2)) interprets L.39: a-bi ar-ni ub-la a-ra-an-su lit-bal, as "My father has committed the offence (whose consequences affect) me (lit. "my offence"), may it (his image) now remove the punishment (from me which) he (incurred)⁽³⁰⁾". The meaning of arnu(m), including both offence and punishment, makes such an interpretation possible and difficult to express in English. The idiom arna(m) (w)abālu(m) is, however, used with different meanings (e.g. in AfO 19 p.59 L.144: ra-a ub-la a-ra-an-su-ma hi-ti-ta a-a u[s-ta-bil] "May he not bear the consequences of his offence, may he not be made to bear the guilt"). The whole passage is, in any case, very obscure. BMS 11 22-24 also suggests that the arnu(m) of a relative meant the consequences of some offence committed by him: [ar]-ni a d . m u a d . a d . m u a m a . m u a m a . a m a . m u [kim]-ti-m u ni-su-ti-m u u sa-la-ti-m u a-na ra-ma-ni-ia a-a t e -a a-bi-tu-ma lil-lik "May the offence of father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, kin, family and relatives not approach my person but go elsewhere".

It is, however, unlikely that the māmītu(m) of a relative

was in every case an oath sworn by that relative, for Šurpu III (BBR Pl. V) includes ma-mit dar-ka-ti u te-ni-gi " 'oath' of offspring and suckling" in the list ⁽¹⁹⁾arnu(m) and māmitu(m) appear to have denoted the numen attaching to certain types of act and utterance, including those affecting kinship relations, and requiring the same type of exorcism techniques as demons and ghosts. The range of contacts open to "contamination" included other social contacts and servants, e.g. JRAS 1929 281ff⁽³¹⁾ 11-12: hi-ti-it ar-ni a d a m a š e š n i n d u m u d u m u .
S A L a r a d u [g e m e] tap-pi-e it-ba-ri ru-a la ru-ut-ti
 "guilt of an offence of father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, slave or slave-girl, partner, comrade, male or female friend"; Šurpu III (BBR Pl. V) 10-11: ma-mit ib-ri u tap-pe-e ma-mit ru-ú'-a u it-ba-ri " 'Oath' of comrade or partner, oath of male or female friend".

Two texts of this type refer to the "oath" of seven generations of the father's house": Šurpu III 6: ma-mit 7 li-e-pi š a é . a d; Schollmeyer SBH 18 26-29: ma-mit 7 li-pi š a é . a d-ia. līpu means literally "offshoot"⁽³²⁾ and is often used in the sense of descendants. These references may attest to a belief that a family could be haunted by the consequences of an action performed by or in some way affecting an ancestor for up to seven generations. On the other hand 7 līpi could mean "seven degrees of kin" and the phrase would then imply a very wide range of "contamination", extending even to very distant contemporary kin. The concept of degrees of kin is not, however, attested elsewhere in Akkadian texts.

1:2 The extent of the ancestor cult

Direct evidence of the officiants in the ancestor cult is of an ideal, generalized type. The most precise list of possible kin responsible is in the text published AfO 19 p.117. Here the neglected ghost is addressed in the following terms (LL.7-

10): lu-u šá š e š [u n i n l a t i-šá]-a lu-u šá i m . r i .
a [u i m . r i . a (kimta [u salata]) l a t i-šá]-a lu-u šá d u m u
u [d u m u . SAL l a t i-šá]-a lu-u šá i b i l a n a-aq a .
m e š l a t i-šá]-a "Whether you are one who has no brother or
sister, or one who has no family or relatives, or one who has
no son or daughter, or one who has no heir to make libations
of water". Many texts refer to the ghost as an "alien ghost"
(etiṃmu aḫū), i.e. someone who had no connections in the place
where he died.⁽³⁴⁾ Others simply refer to the absence of a pāqidu,
kāsip, kispi, nāq mē(pl.), zākir, šumi or "anybody" (mammāna)
to perform these functions.⁽³⁵⁾

The evidence suggests then that the duties of the ancestor
cult could be performed by any surviving close kin. Affines,
including husbands and wives, are never explicitly mentioned
and may have been excluded.⁽³⁶⁾ That women could take part in the
ancestor cult is shown by references to aḫātu, "sister" and
mārtu, "daughter" in Afo 19 p.117 (above) and elsewhere,⁽³⁷⁾ as well
as by the evidence of the royal cult discussed below. Nothing
is known of the roles of the individual members of the household
in the cult. References to chairs⁽³⁸⁾ in this connection suggest
that the offerings took the form of a meal, possibly shared by
the living family, but there is no direct evidence.

The evidence of propitiatory rituals shows that all close
kin, male and female, could be recipients of ancestor worship.
Individual relatives mentioned in the incantations are parents,
siblings and grandparents.⁽³⁹⁾ An "alien ghost" (etiṃmu aḫū) could
be propitiated by inclusion with his victim's own kin in the
ancestor cult.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Some texts use all three terms for the kin of
an individual: kimtu, nišutu and salatu.⁽³⁹⁾ Whatever the
technical meanings of these terms, the use of all three argues
against any restriction of the range of dead kin who could affect
an individual's life.

It has been assumed⁽⁴¹⁾ that the duties of the ancestor cult were closely bound up with the process of inheritance. Evidence in support of such a connection may be seen in a few curse formulae from late second millenium kudurru inscriptions in which the heir and a term clearly meaning the person responsible for the ancestor cult are listed and apparently equated with the more usual terms for offspring in such contexts,⁽⁴²⁾ e.g. MDP II pp.109-110 vii 9-11: ap-la-am na-aq me-e li-ki-im-š^vu-ma "May (Ninurta) deprive him of an heir, a pourer of water"; BBS 8 iv 20: i b i l a -š^vu na-qa a . m e š -š^vu li-še-li "May (Ninurta) make him forfeit his heir, his pourer of water"; BBS 9 ii 18-19: i b i l a u [na]-aq a . m e š a-a u-š^var-š^vi "May (Ninurta) cause him not to acquire an heir, a pourer of water". A Babylonian omen text makes the same connection: n í g . t u g . m e š i b i l a za-kir m u t u g -š^vi "It means wealth, he will have an heir, one to call his name" (TBP 7:11).

⁽⁴³⁾
A MB adoption contract treats the duties of the ancestor cult as a continuation of the duty to revere and take care of parents: a-di (f)I-na U n u g . k i -ri-š^vat ba-al-ta-tu (f)E-ti-ir-tum i-pa-al-la-ab-š^vi (f)I-na U n u g . k i -ri-š^vat i-ma-at-ma (f)E-ti-ir-tum d u m u . SAL . a . n i me-e i-na-aq-qí-š^vi "as long as I. (the adopter) lives, E. (the adoptee) shall revere her; when I. dies, E., her daughter, shall pour water for her" (BE 14 40 11-15). This document does not mention inheritance, and, as there are very few published MB family law documents, it is impossible to judge whether the right of the adoptee in this case to inherit is implied by the phraseology of the document. That the adoptive mother had some property is shown by LL.9-10, which stipulate that, should she make her adopted daughter into a servant, she shall lose her paternal estate (a-na é . a d . d a . n i us-š^vi L.10).

Certain Akkadian adoption documents from outside Babylonia

make an explicit connection between inheritance and funerary duties, e.g. MDP 23 285 (Elam), in which a man leaves all his property to his daughter, stipulating (LL.15-16): ba-al-ta-ku-ma a-ka-la ta-[na-di]-i-na mi-ta-ku-ma ki-is-pa ta-ka-zi[pa] "In my lifetime you (or "she") shall give me food; when I die, you (or "she") shall make funerary offerings for me". Certain Nuzi documents stipulate that the adopted heir shall perform a mourning ceremony upon the death of his/her adoptive parent.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The basic argument, however, for associating the Mesopotamian ancestor cult with inheritance is the etymology of i b i l a, the Sumerian word for heir (= Akk. aplu(m))⁽⁴⁵⁾. In a Sumerian inscription of Gudea (22nd century BC) the word is written ì . b í . l a. The Sumerian ideograms ì and b i l/b í mean "oil" and "burn" respectively, so that ì . b í . l a could be interpreted as "the one who burns oil". The text runs: é . d u m u . n i t a n u . t u g d u m u . SAL . b i ì . b í . l a . b a m i . n i . t u "In a house which had no male child, its female child entered as heir"(StatB 7. 44-46). It is possible to assume a fanciful writing of i b i l a here, but the variant in Cyl. B. 18, unfortunately damaged, suggests that the meaning of "the one who burns oil" was intended: é d u m u . [n i t a] n u . [t u g] d u m u . [SAL b i ì]. DIB . [b í . l a . b a m i . n i . t u] (LL.8-9). If we read ì . u d u . b í . l a "the one who burns sheep fat", then the most that these two texts show is that a rite of oil-burning was associated with inheritance in 22nd century Lagash, and was the duty of the heir. It must, however, be noted that it is not explicitly stated that this rite was ancestor worship, though the context strongly suggests a domestic cult of some kind, the prerogative of the household head. Nor is there any reference to this type of domestic ritual at any later period. It has been suggested that references to kinūnu(m) belū(m)⁽⁴⁶⁾ "an extinguished brazier" in OB legal contexts are evidence of the

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practice of a domestic cult. This interpretation seems to be based solely on analogies with practices in certain strongly patrilineal societies with effective lineage groups, such as early Greece and Rome, where domestic ancestor worship is explicitly symbolic of family continuity and the first duty of the household head was to keep alive the flame at the household shrine. There is, however, only scattered evidence of the use of the symbolism of undying fires in Mesopotamian ritual practice,⁽⁴⁷⁾ domestic or otherwise, and no evidence of the kinūnu(m) as centre of a domestic cult like the focus of the Romans.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In some contexts kinūnu(m) belū(m) simply describes a house which is unoccupied; in others it describes patrimonial land and appears to refer to an interruption of the line of inheritance, e.g. BE 6/2 123 3-7: h a . l a PN₁ d u m u PN₂ ša ki-nu-un-su bi-lu-u-ma PN₃ d u m u PN₂ u d u m u . m e s PN₄ a-bi-su i-zu-[zu] "the portion of PN₁, son of PN₂, whose brazier is extinguished (i.e. died without issue?) PN₃ son of PN₂ and the sons of PN₄ his brother have divided"; CT 6 27b:10 g a n a . š a si-bi-it u k u . u s [ša?] a-lik i-di-ia ša ki-nu-un-su bi-lu-u u r u . k i id-di-nam-ma "10 g a n of land, holding of a redu-soldier, which belonged to a fellow of mine who died without issue, the city gave to me".

Evidence suggesting a special ceremonial role of the eldest son in the OB period cannot be conclusively connected with the ancestor cult.

It has already been suggested that the ancestor cult was a mechanism both for the perpetuation of the identity of an individual after his death and for the alleviation of anxiety and guilt experienced by the living on the death of a member of the household.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The tensions between adjacent generations may be expected to have affected the householder and his sons, who were to inherit his property and in some cases his status, more

severely than other household members. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find that the moral pressure to observe the ancestor cult was most effective upon sons who had recently succeeded their fathers, and this deduction is supported, if not proved, by the evidence quoted above.

It must be emphasized that there is absolutely no evidence of the worship of ancestors of private persons further back than two generations, which would generally entail the coming together of groups of kin larger than the domestic group,⁽⁵⁰⁾ and in societies where it occurs serves as one way of maintaining solidarity within lineage groups.⁽⁵¹⁾ It has already been shown in Ch. I that there is no evidence of the existence of lineage groups in ancient Mesopotamian urban society.

2. The Royal Ancestor Cult

Evidence for the royal ancestor cult is sparse and dispersed in time, but the various references are consistent in showing that it extended to more than two or three generations of ascendants. Evidence comes almost entirely from the OB and NA periods.

The OB evidence reflects the cultural traditions of dynasties having their origin in semi-nomadic chieftains, known for convenience as "Amorites". GHD, "the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty"⁽⁵²⁾, is a genealogy of the ancestors of Ammisaduqa of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The list stretches back over five centuries, and the summary adds the females of the line (d u m u . SAL . m e s . l u g a l , "daughters of kings" L.35). LL.36-40 show that the list was drawn up for purposes of the ancestor cult: a-wi-lu-tum ka-li-šī-in iš-tu (d)u t u . è . a a-du (d)u t u . š u . a [ša] pa-qi-dam u sa-ḫi-ra-am la i-šu-u al-ka-nim-ma an-ni-a-am aš-ak?-la an-ni-a-am [si-ti]-a a-na Am-mi-sa-du-qa d u m u Am-mi-di-ta-na l u g a l K á . d i n g i r . r a . k i "All persons from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, who have

no-one to tend or remember them, come, eat this, drink this, (come) to Ammisaduqa, son of Ammiditana, king of Babylon". This comprehensiveness is comparable with that of the expiatory rituals discussed above. The inclusion of all untended dead and, in L.33, of the Babylonian equivalent of the unknown soldier⁽⁵³⁾, shows an orientation towards the well-being of the community.

Outside Babylonia proper, the royal letters⁽⁵⁴⁾ and administrative documents⁽⁵⁵⁾ from Mari on the Euphrates show the royal ancestor cult in Mari to have been a regular monthly ceremony⁽⁵⁶⁾, demanding the presence of the king (it is not stated whether other members of the royal family took part) and taking place in a special building, the *é . k i . s e . g a* ("funerary offering building") in the provincial centre of Terqa.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The number of generations of ancestors honoured is not indicated, but the formula *kispum/ana kispim* *ša šarrāni*, "(for) the funerary offering of the kings"⁽⁵⁸⁾, suggests that several generations at least were honoured.

The NA evidence suggests that the inclusion of more generations of ancestors in the royal ancestor cult than in the non-royal was characteristic of Mesopotamian society, even if the extensive patrilineal genealogy of the OB period was a nomadic innovation. Aššurbanipal (Streck. *Asb.* 250 r.1) mentions the ancestor cult of former kings (*šarrani alikūt [mahriya]*, "the kings who went before me") which had fallen into disuse.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The stela of the NB king Nabonidus from Harran⁽⁶⁰⁾ gives details of the cult of previous kings (possibly Assyrian)⁽⁶¹⁾ by his mother⁽⁶²⁾ (worded in the first person), and of his own attention to her burial. The inscription shows that the cult could be performed by non-kin and by a woman.⁽⁶³⁾ The inscription states that none of those whom duty or gratitude should have led to attend to the cult did so: *ma-na-ma ina d u m u . m e š -šú-nu u man-ma ni-šú-t[ú-šú-nu] u l ú . g a l . m e š -šú-nu ša i-nu-ma ri-ši-šú-nu*

ul-lu-ú ina bu-šú-ú ^ú ~~in~~ í g . g a ú-at-tir-šú-nu-tú la iš-tak-
kan-šú-nu-[tú] qut-rin-nu (col. iii LL.8-12) "Not one among
their children nor among their relatives or their high officials,
whom when they gave them preferment (lit. "raised their heads")
they loaded with riches, ever offered them incense". She then
describes the rites that she performed for them herself (LL.12-19):
ia-a-tú i t u -šam-ma la na-pár-k[a-a] ina lu-bu-ši-ia dam-qu-ú-
tú g u d . m e š u d u . n í t a . m e š ma-ru-tú n i n d a .
h i . a k a š . s a g g e š [t i n] ì . g i š l à l u
g u r u n g i š . SAR ka-la-ma ki-is-p[i] a-kás-sap-šú-nu-ti-ma
sur-qin-nu taḫ-du-tú i-ri-ši ta-a-bi a-na gi-na-a ú-kin-šú-nu-ti-ma
~~[x]~~ ^ú as-tak-kan ina maḫ-ri-šú-un "But I every month, without
interruption, in my fine garment made ^{them} a funerary offering of
oxen, fat sheep, bread, best beer, wine, sesame oil, honey and
all kinds of garden produce, and established a permanent offer-
ing of rich sweet-smelling incense and placed it before them".

These are the only references to the burning of incense as
part of the ancestor cult. The details of the offering show
close similarity with the cult of the gods. Possibly the dead
kings were represented by their statues or reliefs, as were the
gods. L.12 shows that devout attention to the royal ancestor
cult meant regular monthly rites.

The NA material shows evidence of an attitude towards the
dead ancestors worshipped that is not attested for commoners.
In ABL 614 an oracle is reported as issuing from a ghost and
addressed to a king's son. Unfortunately the obverse of the
tablet is too damaged to read and it is not known which prince
is addressed or whose ghost is speaking.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The oracle states
(r. 2-7): ma-la ina ki-nu-ti ša Aššur (d) ša-maš ana d u m u .
l u g a l -ú-te (kur) Aššur (ki) iq-ti-bu-ú-ni e-tim-ma-ša ri-kar-
rab-šú ki-i ša šu-ú e-tim-mu ip-laḫ-u-ni ma-a m u -šú n u m u n -
^ú šú (kur) Aššur (ki) li-bi-lu "By the truth of Aššur and Šamaš, they

have told me that he will be crown-prince of Assyria. Her ghost blesses him and says, as he has revered the ghost, "his posterity and descendants shall rule over Assyria". If, as seems likely, a family ghost is giving the blessing, a concept of reciprocity is here illustrated, linking piety towards ancestors on the one hand and the well-being and continuance of descendants on the other.⁽⁶⁵⁾

A pious attitude to ancestors is shown also in the attitude to their monuments discussed in the previous chapter, and the rite of anointing monuments of predecessors with oil.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Royal graves were, of course, more elaborate than those of commoners and were provided with building inscriptions identifying their owners.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Sennacherib records (OIP II 135-6 [KAH II 122]) that he faced with limestone blocks the brickwork "both of works for the living and of graves befitting the dead", ul-tú šī-pir bal-tu-ti a-di ki . m a h si-mat me-tu-tu (L.18).⁽⁶⁸⁾ The indignantly pious tone of Nabonidus's mother also is unparalleled in non-royal contexts. It must be remembered, however, that it is only for the royal ancestor cult that there is evidence of the attitude of individuals to their dead kin and of the attitude towards the regular cult, as distinct from the propitiatory approach of the standard incantations.

The evidence of a greater degree of piety does, however, correspond well with the evidence of the greater extent and regularity of the cult. Various factors may have contributed to the greater extent and importance of the royal cult. Ritual obligations of all kinds were more binding on the king, whose well-being, dependent on his relationship with the national deities, symbolised the well-being of the community. This was particularly true of the Assyrian king, who was high-priest of the cult of the god ^{vv}Assur, and whose every action was regulated by the consultation of omens and by ritual protective measures.

As mentioned above, even the ancestor cult of the Hammurabi dynasty, with its strong genealogical emphasis, showed an orientation towards the well-being of the community.

The evidence of differences in range and character of ancestor worship according to royal or non-royal status is, however, in agreement with the evidence of awareness of ancestors as a group, and of "former kings", whether strictly ancestors or not, discussed in the previous section. An important factor in this awareness was the persisting evidence of the existence of ancestors of kings in the form of written records of their names and sometimes their deeds in king-lists and on monuments, the former arising out of administrative needs (dating), the latter, however, a mechanism used deliberately to perpetuate the names of kings after their death. (69)

Notes

1. This definition is given by D. R. Scheinfeld A Comparative Study of Ancestor Worship (London University MA Thesis, 1960)p.1.
2. See A. Parrot, Le "Refrigerium" dans l'Audela, Ch. II (Anatolia, Syria, Palestine); Ch. III (Egypt); H. W. F. Saggs, "Some Ancient Semitic Conceptions of the Afterlife", in Faith and Thought 90 (1953) 157-182; and, for beliefs about the afterlife also A. Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels (1946) Ch. III "Death and the Afterlife" (pp.137-223).
3. Op. cit., Ch. IX, especially pp.179-183.
4. See Glossary.
5. Known as asipu or mašmašu. See E. Ritter in AS 16, 299-321, and CAD I/2 pp. 431-5.
6. A number of these incantations have been collected and published by E. Ebeling under the title Tod und Leben bei den Babylonern und Assyriern (1931) 1. Teil: Texte. See especially pp.122-156, "Beschwörungen und Riten gegen Totengeister".
7. Sum. g i d i m l ú . k i . n u . t ú m . m a h é . m e . e n . g i d i m l ú . s a g . e n . t a r n u . t u k . a h é . m e . e n g i d i m l ú . k i . s e . g a n u . t u k . a h é . m e . e n g i d i m l ú . a . d é . a n u . t u k . a h é . m e . e n g i d i m l ú . m u . p à d d a n u . t u k . a h é . m e . e n .
8. On the importance of water in the funerary cult see Parrot op. cit (n.2). There is a little archaeological evidence of the provision of channels in royal tombs of early periods to direct the water from libations to the occupants of the tombs (Parrot, op. cit., 20-31). Other archaeological evidence is lacking because most excavated graves have been on sites occupied (simultaneously or not) by houses. On burials in Mesopotamia see Parrot, Malédiction et Violations de Tombes (1939), Chs I and VII, also Chs II to VI for comparative material (Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Rome.) See n.10 below.
9. e.g. MDP 12 pp.109-110 vii 10; BBS 8 iv 20; 9 ii 19; BBS 2 B 20; CH Epilogue xxvii 37-40. cf. also AS 5 91.24-27; BE 8, 4.5; Wiseman VTE 476.
10. VS I 54 14-18, and dupl.: i-na e-la-ti šum-šu li-id-mi-iq i-na ša-ap-la-ti e-ti-im-mu-šu ma-e za-ku-ti li-il-tu-ú "Above may his name be well, below may his ghost drink clean water".
(see above, p.151).

The importance of a proper burial is also attested by other sources, e.g. in curses, MDP 6 pl. 10 vi 22; D. J. Wiseman, VTE 451-2: u z u . m e ^š -ku-nu u r . z í r . m e ^š ^š a h . m e ^š li-ku [g i d i] m -ku-nu pa-qi-du na-aq a . m e ^š aa ir-[^ši] "May dogs and pigs eat your flesh, may your ghosts not have anyone to take care of them and pour water for them".

Also in omens, e.g. Dreambook p.327 i 71: d i ^š ana k i ú-rid (ú ^š -ma^{ki} ul qí-bir is-da[-^šú (n u) g i . n a], "If (in his dream) he descends to the Underworld and dies but is not buried in the earth, his foundation will not be firm". Note also Aššurbanipal's account of his opening of the tombs of Elamite kings in order to make them thirst for funerary offerings and libations of water (Streck, VAB 7.56 vi 75).

11. BA I p.65 (H 2774 vi) 9-12.


12. e.g. KAR 221 13: ú-[ša]r-rih-ku-nu-ší ú-[kab-]bit-ku-nu-ší "I have praised you, honoured you"; BBR II 52 14 [tu-]šar-rah-šú-nu-ti tu-kab-ba-su-nu-ti "You praise them, honour them";

LKA 90.19.89.16. Note also the OB PN Etimmu(m)-rābī "The-Ghost-is-Great" (VAS 13 103; YOS 8 172:5), which uses a formula generally reserved for gods, and common in OB PN's, e.g. Ilī-rābī, Šamaš-rābī, Sīn-rābī. Like demons, ghosts are sometimes given the determinant for the divine, e.g. KUB 29 58 iv 2; ZA 45 202 ((d)g i d i m). ilu(m), "god", is used in some substitute names (see p.178 and n.18) to describe the dead relative of whom the new baby is a replacement, e.g. I-dur-ilum "the-god-has-returned" EBPN 112a. The meaning may be comparable to "late lamented" or "of blessed memory" (cf. "divus" in Roman tomb inscriptions). The meaning of ilu(m) in Akkadian ranges from "God" through "spirit" to "good luck".

13. e.g. CT 16 10 r.14, quoted above and comparable texts published by E. Ebeling, op. cit. 122-156. See also VS 1 54 15-16 (Ch. III 2:1, Private Monuments). Invocation of the name was, of course, a regular part of the cult of the gods in Mesopotamia, as elsewhere. For its significance in the Old Testament see B. S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel (1962) pp.12-14.

14. Ch. III 2:1:1

15. See above Ch. III 2:1:2 (Private Monuments). Cylinder seals were sometimes inscribed with the names of their owners and were very durable. For the symbolic connection between cylinder seals and the perpetuation of individual identity see above, Ch. III 1:2.

16. See Ch. III, passim, and Glossary.
17. See below, pp.183f. and 187f. and n.9 above.
18. See above, Ch. I 2:1, p.36.
19. Akk. etimmu(m) see Glossary and CAD 4 under etimmu; Hwb.I under etemmu(m). Akk. arūtu has been translated by some scholars as "shade" but probably means a pipe through which libations of water were passed to the graves of the dead, (see Glossary under arūtu). S. Langdon, JRAS (1933) 860-861, translates "relatives". See now A. Sjöberg in AS 16 63f.
20. See especially Hwb. I under etemmu(m).
21. e.g. TCL 4 5 5; cf. 1 Sam. 28:7.
22. See below.
23. See M. Fortes "Pietas in Ancestor Worship" in JRAI 91 (1961) 166-181 and in Time and Social Structure, and other essays (1970) (mainly on the Tallensi); M. Weber, The Religion of China (1951) Eng. trans.; G. M. Carstairs, The Twice-Born (1957) (on the Hindus of Rajasthan).
24. On the terminology of Mesopotamian psychology see A. L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, Ch. IV pp.198-206.
25. See E. Reiner, Surpu, p.55 n.1; S. A. B. Mercer, The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature (1912); cf. also JAOS 33 35ff; AJSL 29 65ff; 30 96ff.
26. e.g. Surpu III 148 lu mamit l ú . ú s u l ú . t i
"Oath' of living man or dead man".
27. e.g. Surpu III 3; Schollmeyer SBH 18,26; KAR 246:22.
28. e.g. KAR 178 r. vi 39; BMS 11 22; KAR 39 r.11; JRAS 1929 281ff. 11; K8cher BAM 234:11; TDP 208:8; (Dreambook IX obv. col. ii y+5).
29. L.35: sa-lam e(!)-ti-im a-bi-ka d ù -us "You make an image of the ghost of your father".
30. CAD I/1 p.18 (arnam (w)abālu b)) translates with the same essential sense: "It was my father who brought this sin upon me, may he (i.e. his image) now remove his sin (from me)". See also TDP 36:6 which predicts that a pregnant woman will be seized by her father's guilt.
31. = Rm 2160.
32. Schollmeyer reads lip-li-pi "descendant". The sign as transcribed C. D. Gray, SRT Pl. IV looks like 7  but could possibly represent lip, though the form would be unusual for

NA script.

33. From the root elēpu(m)/alāpu "to sprout". See Hwb. I p.199b-200a.

34. See above p.179.

35. See above, p.177 and p.179.

36. Note, however, that queens might participate in the royal ancestor cult. See p.188 below and n.63.

37. e.g. BE 14 40 15 (See below p.184).

38. e.g. Hh IV (MSL V 157) 93: g i š . g u . z a g i d i m =
ku-us-su-u e-tim-me; RA 28 19: g i š . g u . z a g i d i m =
ku-us-su-u e-tim-tum; cf. also BBR II No. 52 12ff. See
A. Salonen, Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamiens (1963) 41.

39. e.g. KAR 227:3:9-10: (g i d i m) a d . m u a d . a d . m u
a m a . m u a m a . a m a . m u š e š . m u n i n . m u k i m -
t i - i a n i - s u - t i - i a u s a - l a - t i - i a m a - l a i - n a k i - t i s a l - l u
"(Ghost of) my father, my father's father, my mother, my mother's
mother, my brother, my sister, my kin, family and relatives as
many as are lying in the earth". The terms for grandparents
must be influenced by considerations of stylistic symmetry, as
it is unlikely that in a society with patrilineal inheritance
the maternal grandmother would be an important relative and not
the paternal grandmother or maternal grandfather.

40. LKA 83 4f: [m]u -ka i t - t i e - t i m - m e a z - k u r m u -ka i n a
k i - i s - p i a z - k u r

41. e.g. B. Meissner, BuA 427-9; P. Haupt, BA 10/2 p.75;

P. Koschaker in Ebert: Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte III p.115.

42. išdu(m), šumu(m), zēru(m); see Ch. III passim and Glossary.

43. Dated in the reign of Kunigalzu.

44. e.g. JEN 59:22; 8:11; HSS 19:11:24; 18:24; etc.

45. See F. Thureau-Dangin, AO I 271; RA 10 (1913) 93ff.

46. See P. Koschaker, loc. cit. (n.41); RA 11 29-42; G. R. Driver
and J. C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws I p.329f.

47. Fires which must not go out are mentioned as part of the
official cult, BRM 4 6:18 and KUB 37 61 12'. See also LB refer-
ences to bonfires in the streets of Uruk to celebrate a religious

festival, AO 6451 (RAcc. 62ff & 75ff) obv. 35-45, r. 35-40, and to a festival Ka-nu-ne ABL 49 r.13 cf. 15; 50 7. On (d)Kinūnu, a hearth-deity, see I. J. Gelb, NPN 306b-307a. For a discussion of kinūnu belū see B. Landsberger, ZDMG 69 (1915) 526. For a month Kinūnu at Nuzi see ArOr 10 62; HSS 16 112 4; 117 15; 15 89 3; 385 2. cf. J-M. Kupper, RA 41 174; S. Langdon, BMSC p.29; C-F. Jean, RES (1941) 129.

48. On the Roman ancestor cult see N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, La Cité antique (1900) I, Ch. VII.

49. Personal anxiety in face of death, irrespective of other tensions, naturally contributed to this attitude. Such anxiety is the theme of the Epic of Gilgamesh, (see A. Heidel, op. cit. n.2).

50. cf. traditional Chinese society, where up to 40 generations of ancestors might be worshipped by lineages of up to 10,000 people (only 4 generations on the domestic level). See M. Freedman, Ancestor Worship and the Transmission of Family Authority, in R. Firth, Social Organization (1967); M. Weber, The Religion of China (Eng. Trans. 1951). The length of time for which the cult of a dead relative was observed may well have varied in Mesopotamia from household to household. Little is known of the frequency of the rites. References to um kispi(m), "the day of the funerary offerings" as the name of the 29th day of the month (RA 16 p.152 = CT 18 Pl. 23 L.13 ; MSL V (Hh I) p.23 196; LSS VI 141ff. cf. also KAR 184 28: ina u4 3 . k á m u4 29 k á m e-nu-ma g i d i m uš-taš (!)-še-ru, "On the 3rd day (or?) the 29th day, when the ghosts are mustered") may refer only to the royal ancestor cult, which, like all ceremonies relating to the king, had public as well as private significance, and is known to have been a monthly ceremony.

51. It is not known whether groups larger than the household met together for ancestor worship. Such ceremonies may have contributed towards solidarity among brothers after household fission, but there is no evidence of this. Mourning ceremonies (Akk. bikītu) may also have provided an occasion for the gathering of relatives. This is suggested by a reference to a public festival of mourning, LKA 70iLL.3-4 : ina i t i . š u (D ū z i) e-nu-ma (d)Is-tar ana (d)D u m u . z i har-mi-ša u k ū . m e š k u r ū-šab-ku-u kim-ti l ū áš-ra-nu pah-rat "in the month of Duzi when Istar has the people of the land weep for Dumuzi, her consort, and the kin of the man are gathered together in one place". There is evidence that kin were ideally

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buried close together, e.g. CT 23 18ff. 26 & 28.

52. See below Ch. VI 3 (pp. 235-7).

53. u ku . u s sa i-na da-an-na-at be-li-su im-qu-tu "The soldier who fell in the service of his lord".

54. e.g. ARM 1 65: 5-7; III 40: 16-18; VII 9; XI 139; XII 23; 25.

55. e.g. ARM VII 9 5-6; ARM IX passim. See in general on kispum in administrative lists ARM IX Commentary p. 283ff.

56. 1 Sam. 20:5, 18ff. refer to a festival at the court of King Saul held on the New Moon, on which occasion David had to return home for yearly household sacrifices (1 Sam. 20:6, 29).

57. e.g. ARM I 65, 5-7; IAK 26 Nos. 5, 6. Terqa may have been the original seat of the dynasty (see Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954) p. 35 n. 26).

58. Babylonian administrative documents and letters also record deliveries of foodstuffs for funerary offerings (kispu(m)), e.g. OB: JCS 11 p. 36. 27; VAS 16 51, 5; 5a. 4; VAB 6 80 6 (p. 16); YOS 2 20 14; TCL 1. 7 12. MB: PBS 2/2. 8. 1, 9. cf. ATR 119b.

59. C. F. Lehmann, Šsmk. L3 (No. 12) R. 1-3: a-di ki-is-pi na-aq a . me s a-na gi-di-m . me s lu-ga-l . me s du-ut ma[h-ri-ia] ša sub-tu-lu ar-ku-us a-na dingir u a-me-lu-tum ana ú s . me s u ti . me s mun dú -uš am-me-ni gi-g bu-l lib-bi é -ú bu-lu-uq-qu-u rit-ku-sa? ki-ia

"I made arrangements for the funerary offerings and libations for the ghosts of my royal predecessors, which had fallen into abeyance, I did good to god and man, to dead and living. Why are sickness, sorrow, loss and expense always connected with me?"

60. See B. Landsberger, In Memoriam Halil Edhem Vol. I (1947) pp. 115-151, for transliteration, translation and discussion. Cuneiform VAB 4, Nabonidus, No. 9; Pognon, Inscriptions sémitiques, No. 1 Pl. 11-13.

61. See Landsberger, loc. cit., p. 143 and n. 2.

62. Or possibly grandmother (so H. Lewy, HUCA 19 (1946) 408ff.).

63. The evidence of the ED period from the temple of Bau at Lagash shows that women could perform the rites of ancestor worship at that period. In this case the wives of ensiks were acting in their capacity as overseers of the temple of Bau, consort of the city god. See A. Deimel, Or. (O.S.) 2 (1920) 32-51. The NA funerary ritual text published in transliteration BA II p. 635, Photo. ZA 45 42-61 Pl. VII; cf. TuL pp. 63-65,

shows the daughter (LL.29,41), the daughter-in-law (L.4) (wife of the crown-prince, see Ch. I n.96) and wife (sinni^vsat ekalli LL.40-41) playing a role in the royal funerary rites.

64. CAD 4 p.397b suggests that it is the ghost of the dead queen (the prince's mother or paternal grandmother).

65. The same concept is illustrated by the complaint of Aššurbanipal that his piety has not been rewarded. See n.59.

66. See above Ch. III, p.148 and n.107.

67. e.g. WVDOG 65 Pl. 12a (cf. p.21); Pl.20f (cf. p.101) and p.177; W. Andrae, ^{Das}Widererstandene Assur pp.136,138: AfO 13 p.215.

68. Note the concern shown for the remains of his ancestors by the Chaldean king Merodach-Baladan, who actually dug the bones of his ancestors out of their graves in the Sea-land and took them with him into exile on the other side of the Persian Gulf, (OIP 2 p.85 8-11). Presumably he feared the kind of treatment from Sennacherib which Aššurbanipal later meted out to the remains of the Elamite kings, (see n.10 above).

69. See Ch. III 2:1 pp.146f. For an example of a king's desire for his name to be remembered in the ancestor cult see also CH Epilogue xxivb 93- xxvb 2.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Mesopotamian Experience of Ascendants

The following chapters will investigate the extent and nature of awareness of ascendants beyond the generations covered by living memory in the Mesopotamian world-view. The term "ascendants" may be defined as members of preceding generations, alive or dead, linked to an individual ("ego") by kinship. By this definition any individual has an infinity of ascendants extending into the past. But, as with contemporary kin, so with ascendants, the number significant to the individual is more or less strictly limited. When an ascendant of a generation before living memory, linked to ego lineally, is known to ego, he or she becomes an ancestor or ancestress.

Recognition of ascendants as ancestors implies recognition of ego's descent from them, and is often determined by the lines of inheritance and succession, though where inheritance and succession are bilateral, recognition of ancestors may be determined by other factors. In Mesopotamia inheritance and succession were typically unilineal, following the male line. Recognition of ascendants as ancestors, where it occurs, also follows the male line, the term for "ancestor" being abu(m), "father", and is always closely connected with the process of succession to property and roles. Descent was not used systematically for any other purpose, such as recruitment to a lineage group, as corporate groups larger than the household united by descent from a common ancestor were not typical of the Mesopotamian form of social integration.⁽¹⁾

Note: This chapter is concerned with the type of statements made about ancestors by their descendants as evidence of Mesopotamian attitudes to ancestors. The subject of the

significance of descent from certain ancestors, as illustrated by genealogical statements, is reserved for the following chapters.

1. References to Ancestors in the Plural (abbū/a d . m e š)

This section will examine the contexts in which ascendants are referred to collectively as "ancestors", without distinguishing individuals by name. The cases in which individuals refer to specific, named ancestors will then be examined in the following sections.

1:1 Royal ancestors

1:1:1 The ancestors of Babylonian and Assyrian kings

(a) A notable feature of the references to abbū which express the points of view of Babylonian and Assyrian kings⁽²⁾ is the frequency of negative statements about them, intended to contrast with an affirmation about the king's own achievements. This tendency is as marked in Babylonian royal inscriptions as in Assyrian, though there are relatively few Babylonian inscriptions for comparison. A MB example is provided by the inscription of Kurigalzu published CT 36 6, i 5-6: ša ina kal l u g a l . m e š a d . m e š -su g a b a . r i n u . t u g -u, "who has no equal among all his royal forefathers". Similar references to predecessors in OB and NB inscriptions do not use the term abbū, e.g. (OB) King LH No. 57 40-46: ša is-tu u4-um si-a-tim l u g a l in l u g a l u r u⁽³⁾ la ib-ni-u a-na (d)U t u be-li-ia ra-bi-is lu e-pu-us-su-um, "I in my greatness did for Šamaš, my lord, what no king had ever achieved before for the king of his city (⁽³⁾)" (Hammurabi); ⁽⁴⁾ CT 37 1 58-61: l u g a l ma-am-ma-an (d)U t u la im-gu-ru-ma b a d Z i m b i r . k i la i-pu-su-sum-ma "No king did Šamaš so favour and no (other) built a fortress at Sippar for him" (Samsuiluna); cf. (NB) VAB 4 Nabon. No. 3 iii 20: ša a-na l u g a l ma-na-ma la im-gu-ru

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(d) U t u be-lu g a l -ú ia-tim l u g a l pa-li-ih-šú im-gu-
ur-an-ni-ma [ú-mal-la]-a-am gá-tu-ú-a, "As he had favoured no
other king, Šamaš, the great lord, favoured me, the king who
reveres him, and gave me power". The claim of achievements
surpassing those of ancestors was a recurring motif in the
formulary of Assyrian royal inscriptions, e.g. (MA) AKA 91 vii
(K 1619a + K 1633) 19-21A : g i š . m e š ša-tu-nu ša i-na l u g a l . m e š
a d . m e š -ia maḥ-ru-ti ma-am-ma la-a is-qu-pu, "trees such
as none of my royal forefathers ever planted" (Tiglath-pileser I⁽⁵⁾),
and particularly in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, who boasts
continually of his innovations⁽⁶⁾, e.g. in his account of his
improvements of Nineveh (OIP 2 95ff; 103ff): ša ul-tu ul-la
l u g a l . m e š -ni a-[li]-kut maḥ-ri a d . m e š -ia ul-la-
nu-u-a be-lu-ut (kur)Aššur(ki) e-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-ti-ru ba-'u-lat
(d) En-lil ú šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a [e]-rib la nar-ba-a-ti
g u n mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-'i im-da-na-ḥa-ru ki-rib-šú "In
which (Nineveh) from former times the kings who preceded me,
my ancestors, used to exercise rule over Assyria, governed the
subjects of Enlil, and received yearly without interruption an
unceasing income, the tribute of rulers from the four quarters"
(95 LL.66-7), L.68 continues: a-a-um-ma i-na lib-bi-šú-nu a-na
é . g a l kir-bi-šú kum-mu ri-mit be-lu-tú ša su-ḥar šu-bat-su
li-e-su ul id-da-a lib-bu-uš ul ih-su-us "Not one of them gave
consideration or thought to the palace within it, the inner
abode of lordship, which had become too small". Comparisons with
the achievements of his ancestors to their detriment occur
frequently in Sennacherib's inscriptions, in accounts both of
building operations and of campaigns⁽⁷⁾.

(b) Far less common are the cases where Babylonian and Assyrian
kings refer to their ancestors in a way that implies that they
are continuing a precedent established by them. References to
ancestors in building inscriptions often refer to earlier work

on the building in question, but are in most cases specific, referring to the individual ancestors responsible. abbū occurs occasionally as a term summarising the list (e.g. KAH 1 63 L.8).

Occasionally earlier building works are ascribed to "my ancestors" or "my predecessors", without specification of the individuals, e.g. (Shalmaneser I) KAH 1 14 7-9⁽⁸⁾, 15 28 -r.⁽⁹⁾ (abbūia); (Tukulti-Ninurta I) KAH 2 49 10-12⁽¹⁰⁾; 50 6-8 (šarrāni ālik pāniya). The reference by Adad-Nirari I (KAH 1 5 obv. 34) to Aššur-nadin-aḫḫe as šilitti abbēya again refers to an individual, as does the reference by Aššurnasirpal II to statues of Tukulti-Ninurta and Tiglath-pileser a d . m e š -a "my ancestors", to which he added his own.⁽¹¹⁾ These passages are discussed in section 2 below.

Precedent is sometimes invoked as an argument by the correspondents of NA kings, e.g. in ABL 355, an omen-interpreter appears to call into question the king's observation of an earthquake, (r. LL.13-15): ina lib-bi a d . m e š -šū a d . a d . m e š -šū ša l u g a l ri-i-bu la-aš-šū "There was no earthquake in the times of the fathers and grandfathers of the king". He gives a non-committal interpretation of the earthquake as meaning that the appropriate na m . b ū r . b i (exorcising) ritual for an earthquake should be performed (LL.4-7). The idiomatic style of letters is notoriously difficult to interpret, but the writer appears to be implying, in adducing the lack of precedent, that Esarhaddon's observation of the earthquake was a mistake.⁽¹²⁾ It must be noted, however, that there are other references to earthquakes in the NA correspondence.⁽¹³⁾

The phrase a d ^{meš} -šū a d . a d . m e š -šū (Akk. abbēšu ab-abbēšu) is very unusual, but obviously matches the phrase mārē mār-mārē, which is fairly common in the meaning of "descendants"⁽¹⁴⁾. (abbē ab-abbē in other contexts means literally "fathers and grandfathers" of more than one person, e.g. J. A. Craig ABRT 1

26 (K 883) 10;¹⁵ C. L. Woolley, Carchemish 2 p.136;¹⁶ cf. Idrimi
86-89.¹⁷)

In ABL 920 l u g a l . m e š^v a d . m e š^v -ka must refer to the immediate ancestors of the king addressed (Esarhaddon), as the writer is discussing the case of certain e r i m . m e š^v la-bi-ru-tú ša é . a d -ia "old retainers of my family" (9-10),
ša ina g i s s u l u g a l . m e š^v a d . m e š^v -ka PN. a d -
u-a ip-la-pu "who under the aegis⁽¹⁸⁾ of your royal forbears were obedient to⁽¹⁹⁾ PN, my father".

In contexts dealing with interstate relations, references to precedent are frequent. The relationship established by treaties between rulers was intended to be binding on the successors of the rulers, and treaties were renewed on the accession of each new ruler. Treaties and diplomatic correspondence, therefore, often refer to relations established between the correspondents' predecessors. In EA 10:9 Burnaburiash of Babylon refers to diplomatic⁽²⁰⁾ relations established between his predecessors and those of Amenophis IV of Egypt since the time of Karaindash (three generations earlier)⁽²¹⁾. In EA 8: 11-12 Burnaburiash complains: um-ma-a ki-i ab-bu-ni it-ti a-ha-mi-is^v ni-i-nu lu ta-ba-nu "Now we, like our forbears, have been on good terms together", deploring an action by Amenophis which might jeopardize good relations.⁽²²⁾

1:1:2 Other Royal Ancestors

Most Akkadian references to the ancestors of kings outside Assyria and Babylonia come from the royal correspondence and treaties of the Amarna period (when Akkadian was the diplomatic language of the entire Near East), and are concerned with precedent in interstate relations. In texts from the west (Byblos, Alalah, Ugarit) a plural form abbutu (never found in native Akkadian texts) is sometimes used instead of abbu.

Typical are the complaints of Rib-Addi of Byblos that his suzerain, the king of Egypt, fails to give him the military support that his ancestors relied on, e.g. EA 117 82: ki-ma par-zi ša-a a-bu-ti-ka "according to the sacred custom of your forefathers"⁽²³⁾, and passim EA.⁽²⁴⁾ Complaints of rulers of equal status that the allied ruler is endangering the friendship established by their ancestors are also frequent, e.g. EA 19: 9-10; 38: 27-28. Assertions of loyalty by vassals also often assert continuity with predecessors, e.g. EA 139: 5-7; 118: 41; 144: 33; 137: 75 (all Rib-Addi). The inscription of Idrimi also refers to the negotiations for a treaty between Idrimi and Šuttarna of the Hurri-land, in which Idrimi recalls the former help given by his ancestors to those of Šuttarna (LL.46-48): aš-da-par u ad-bu-ub ma-na-ha-[te at]he ša a-bu-te (h á) -ia i-nu-ma a-bu-te (h á) - ia a-na u g u -šu-nu in-na-hu-ú "I sent a message mentioning the brotherly efforts of my ancestors, when my ancestors made efforts on their behalf".

1:2 Ancestors of Private Persons

References to the collective ancestors of private persons are infrequent. Apart from the personal names, discussed below, all cases are concerned with continuity in the rights and duties of land holding, e.g. (OB) TCL 7 43: 5-6: a . š á . h á -ni si-bi-it-ni la-bi-ra-am ša ab-bu-ni i-ku-lu "Our fields, our old holding, of which our ancestors had the usufruct; OECT 3 61 21-22: a-we-lum ab-bu-šu-nu i-na é . (d)N i n . g i š . z i . d a u še-am g u n na-ši "Those men, their ancestors were in the temple of Ningiszida and rent-payers"⁽²⁵⁾; (MB) BE 14 39 6-10: PN d u m u PN₂ a-na a-bi-ia PN₃ i-ta-din iš-tu Ku-ri-gal-zu d u m u (d)Ka-da-aš-man-har-be a-di (d)Na-zi-ma-ru-ut-ta-aš d u m u (d)Ku-ri-gal-zu ab-bu-ú-a i-te-ter-ri-šu "PN, son of PN₂, sold it to my ancestor PN₃, (and) from (the reign of) Kurigalzu (I), son of Kadašman-harbe, to (the reign of) Nazimaruttas, son of

Kurigalzu (II) (about 100 years), my ancestors have continued to cultivate it". In this example and in the first quoted, the length of time for which the land has been in the family is adduced as an argument for the rights of the present holder.

To be compared with these cases are references to the antiquity of family property, e.g. BBS 10 r.1: um-ma a . š à . m e š é . a d . m e š -e-a l i b i r . r a . m u (lābirāte(pl.) g a n b a . m e (maḥirāte(pl.) k ū . b a b b a r š a i n a g i s s u l u g a l e n -ia a m -h u -r u "The lands both belonging to my ancient inheritance and acquired by purchase under the protection of the king my lord" (NB)⁽²⁶⁾. The first meaning of bīt abi as applied to property is land inherited from one's father, but in most cases the land would have been in the family for longer and the idea of hereditary land is implicit. In NA contexts bīt abi can also mean "family seat" (e.g. ABL 46:11; 154: r.1,2,21; 152:12; 214:12)⁽²⁷⁾.

One personal name is attested in which abbū is an element. Ab-bu-ū-ta-bu "The-Forefathers-Were-Amiably-Disposed" occurs BE 15 163.24 (female) and BE 15 200 iv 31 (male), and is probably to be counted as an Ersatzname⁽²⁸⁾.

1:3 Ancestors of gods

In religious literature abbū is occasionally used to describe the older generation of gods who were superseded by Marduk when he became supreme god, e.g. Ee IV 133: i-mu-ru-ma ab-bu-š u i h -d u -ū i -r i -š u "His fathers saw him and rejoiced and exulted"; iv 2: ma-ha-ri-iš ab-bé-e-š u a-na ma-li-ku-tum i r -m e "he took his seat as ruler in front of his father".

2. Individual Ancestors

In the second section of this chapter the contexts in which ancestors of individuals are mentioned by name will be discussed. All such references known to the author come from royal sources. It should be mentioned that statements in the

first person are rare in non-royal sources, so that the absence of written evidence does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest in individual ancestors among the general population.

Earlier Kings Described as Ancestors (abu(m)/abī)

This section will examine the contexts in which kings refer to the activities of certain named individuals among their predecessors, whom they chose to describe as "my ancestor(s)" (abī, pl. abbēya).

2:1 Building Inscriptions

References in building inscriptions to previous construction as the work of "my ancestors" have been discussed in section 1 above. More often the king or kings responsible are named, the earliest examples coming from the inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad I.²⁹ Often the previous builder is described as "my ancestor".

Such statements are the main source of references to individual ancestors outside genealogies. Most examples are from Assyrian inscriptions, but a few Babylonian examples occur, e.g. (OB)

VS 1 33 iii 7-10: ša Su-m[u-l]a-dingira-bi r[a-bi]-um a-bi
a-[bi]-ia ha-a[m]-šum i-pu-šū, "Which Sumu-la-el, my great
 ancestor, "Puzur-Aššur III (KAH II 20 5-9): é šu-ḫu-ri ša é (d)M ú š
 also the LI Aš-šū-ri-ti ša D i n g i r -šum-ma ru-ba-ú e-pu-šū ù l u g a l -

A good ki-in a-bi d u m u I-ku-nim u-diš(?) -šū "The bīt šuhuri of
 by the ins the Temple of Ištar of Aššur, which Ilušuma the prince had
 the Ishtar temple in Aššur by Puzur-Aššur III, Adad-nirari I,
 the Ishtar temple in Aššur by Puzur-Aššur III, Adad-nirari I,^{ee}
 in ascribing the first building of the temple to Ilušuma, e.g.
 Puzur-Aššur III (KAH II 20 5-9): é šu-ḫu-ri ša é (d)M ú š
Aš-šū-ri-ti ša D i n g i r -šum-ma ru-ba-ú e-pu-šū ù l u g a l -
ki-in a-bi d u m u I-ku-nim u-diš(?) -šū "The bīt šuhuri of
 the Temple of Ištar of Aššur, which Ilušuma the prince had
 built and Sargon, my ancestor, son of Ikunum, had repaired".

It is not clear why Puzur-Aššur chose to describe Sargon as his ancestor and not Ilušuma. If Sargon were an ancestor of Puzur-Aššur, which is not certainly the case (see below), Ilušuma, Sargon's great grandfather, must have been an ancestor also. Adad-nirari, Shalmaneser and Tukulti-Ninurta do indeed describe Ilušuma as their ancestor, e.g. Shalmaneser (KAH 2 42 5-16):

é (d)M ú š Aš-su-ri-te n i n -ia šá i-na pa-na
 (m)D i n g i r -šum-ma s a n g a Aššur a-bi a Šá-lim-a-bi
 s a n g a Aššur-ma e-pu-šu-ma u-šá-ak-li-lu é šu-ú e-na-aḥ-ma
 (m)L u g a l -ki-en s a n g a Aššur a I-ku-ni s a n g a
Aššur-ma ú-di-šu i-tu-ur e-na-aḥ-ma (m)Pu-zur-Aššur a-bi
 s a n g a Aššur a Aššur-ERIM . GAB . s a n g a Aššur-ma
ú-di-iš é šu-ú e-na-aḥ-ma (md)I š k u r . ERIM . GAB a-bi
 s a n g a Aššur ú-di-iš "The temple of Ištar of Aššur, my lady,
 which formerly Ilušuma, priest of Aššur, my ancestor, son of Šalimahi, priest of Aššur, had built and completed, that temple had fallen into decay and Sargon, priest of Aššur, son of Ikunu, priest of Aššur, had repaired it; again it fell into decay and Puzur-Aššur, my ancestor, priest of Aššur, son of Aššur-nirari, priest of Aššur, repaired it; that temple fell into decay and Adad-nirari, my father, priest of Aššur repaired it." The Adad-nirari inscription (KAH 2 34 6-15) is exactly the same as LL.5-14 of the above, except that māru "son" is represented by the logogram d u m u instead of a throughout. Tukulti-Ninurta also describes Ilušuma as his ancestor (KAH 2 48 9-13):

é
 (d)N i n Aš-su-ri-ti n i n -ia šá i-na pa-na (m)D i n g i r .
šum-ma a-bi s a n g a Aššur l u g a l a-lik pa-ni-ia d u -
šu "The temple of Ištar of Aššur, my lady, which formerly Ilušuma, my ancestor, priest of Aššur, my royal predecessor (lit. "a king who went before me"), had built". He does not record the names of the four intervening builders, but instead states the amount of time supposed to have elapsed since the

first construction (LL. 14-18): 780 m u . m e š il-li-ka-ma
é šu-u e-na-aḥ-ma la-bi-ru-ta il-li-ik "780 years had gone by
and that temple had fallen into decay and become old". Clearly
then it was not an essential duty of piety to mention all the
ancestors responsible for previous building, nor is there any
consistency apparent in the choice to describe predecessors as
"ancestors". Indeed many building inscriptions do not refer
to previous builders as "ancestors", even when they clearly were,
e.g. Esarhaddon, KAH 2 125 22, refers to Shalmaneser I simply
as n u n a-lik i g i -ia "one of my royal predecessors".
References to "former kings" as well as to "ancestors", without
specification of their names, have been discussed in the preced-
ing section.

Aššur-rim-nišešū describes Kikkia, fourth predecessor⁽³⁰⁾ of
Ilušuma in the king list, as one of his ancestors (KAH 1 63
5-8): g a r g ša (m)Ki-ki-a (m)I-ku-nu-um (m)L u g a l -ki-en
Pu-zur! - (d)A-šūr (md)A-šūr-ni-ra-ri d u m u Iš-me - (d)Da-
gan ab-bu-ia up-pi-šu-ni "The wall which Kikia, Ikunum, Šarru-
kin, Puzur-Aššur (and) Aššur-nirari (I), son of Išme-Dagan (II),
my ancestors, had built".

Shalmaneser I and Esarhaddon refer to the first builder
of the Aššur temple, Ušpia, as their ancestor: Shalmaneser
(KAH 1 13 32-41): E . ḥ u r . s a g . k u r . k u r . r a é
Aššur e n -ia šá (m)Uš-pi-a s a n g a Aššur a-bi i-na pa-na
e-pu-šu-ma e-na-aḥ-ma (m)E-ri-šu a-bi s a n g a Aššur d ù -uš
159 m u a n . n a . m e š iš-tu b a l (m)E-ri-še il-li-ka-ma
é šu-u e-na-aḥ-ma (md)U t u -ši -(d)l . š k u r s a n g a Aššur-
ma e-pu-uš "Ehursagkurkurra, the temple of Aššur, my lord, which
Ušpia, priest of Aššur, my ancestor, built formerly, and it fell
into decay, and Erišu, my ancestor, priest of Aššur (re)built
it, then when 159 years had gone by since the reign of Erišu,
that temple fell into decay, Šamsi-Adad, priest of Aššur, (re)-

built it"; Esarhaddon (R. Borger, Asarh. 2 iii: 16-32 = KAH
 1 51 ii 12-27): é (d)Aššur maḥ-ru-u šá (m)Uš-pi-a a-bi
s a n g a Aššur ina pa-ni e-pu-šú e-na-aḥ-ma (m)E-ri-šú d u m u
 (m)D i n g i r -šum-ma a-bi s a n g a (d)Aššur e-pu-uš 126
 m u . m e š il-lik-ma i-tur e-na-aḥ-ma (m)Šam-ši (d)I š k u r
 d u m u (m)AN-kap!-ka-pi a-bi s a n g a (d)Aššur e-pu-uš 434
 m u . m e š il-lik-ma é šu-ú ina ci-me-et (d)G i š . b a r
uš-tal-[pit (m)Š i l i m]-ma-nu-[s a g d u m u (md)I š k u r .
ERIM . GAB a-bi s a n g a (d)Aššur e-pu-uš] "The old temple of
 Aššur, which Ušpia, my ancestor, priest of Aššur, had built
 formerly, and it fell into decay, and Erišu, son of Ilušuma,
 my ancestor, priest of Aššur (re)built it; 126⁽³¹⁾ years went by
 and it fell into decay again, and Šamši-Adad, son of Ila-kab-
 kabu, my ancestor, priest of Aššur, (re)built it; 434 years
 went by, and that temple was burnt down, and Shalmaneser, son
 of Adad-nirari, my ancestor, priest of Aššur, (re)built it".
 Ušpia is next to last of the first group of kings in the
 Assyrian King List, the "Seventeen kings who dwelled in tents"⁽³²⁾,
 generally considered to be ancestors of the nomadic tribes who
 formed the later Assyrian nation.⁽³³⁾

These texts⁽³⁴⁾ appear to present a tradition according to
 which the later kings of Assyria were descended from the earliest
 kings recorded in the King List, the early members of the
 "Sulili dynasty"⁽³⁵⁾ (Kikkia, Ilušuma, Irišum, Ikunum, Sargon), and
 before them the early tribal chieftains who founded the first
 Semitic settlement at Aššur. There is no evidence that such
 a tradition was based on any reliable record. A genealogical
 connection between the dynasties of native Assyrian kings which
 preceded and followed Šamši-Adad and his descendants is not
 recorded in the King List.⁽³⁶⁾ In their genealogies, none of the
 Assyrian kings, with the exception of Adad-nirari III,⁽³⁷⁾ describes
 himself as a descendant of a ruler earlier than Adasi⁽³⁸⁾ (c.1700

BC), but a hint of greater antiquity is given by Esarhaddon, Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin, who describe themselves as "descendant of Belu-bani, son of Adasi, scion of BAL . TIL . KI" (piri' BAL . TIL . KI; see Ch. VI pp. 233, 239). It is not quite clear whether the final epithet applies to Belu-bani or to the author of the inscription himself,⁽³⁹⁾ but BAL . TIL . KI is the oldest, possibly pre-Assyrian,⁽⁴¹⁾ name for the city of Assur.^{vv} A. Poebel (JNES 1, p. 469) suggests that these rulers mean that Adasi, though according to the King List "son of a nobody",⁽⁴²⁾ was descended from a very old family,⁽⁴³⁾ tracing its origin to the pre-Assyrian city. Too literal an interpretation of the references in building inscriptions to "ancestors" should be avoided,⁽⁴⁴⁾ as Esarhaddon in the inscription quoted above describes Šamsi-Adad, son of Ila-kabkabu, that is Šamsi-Adad I, as his ancestor, while the King List states that Šamsi-Adad was a usurper,⁽⁴⁵⁾ so that Esarhaddon could not have been descended from both Šamsi-Adad and the earlier ruler, Erišum.

Though it is possible, in view of the genealogy of Adad-nirari III,⁽⁴⁶⁾ that there may have existed a tradition according to which the later Assyrian kings were genetically connected with the dynasty which reigned before Šamsi-Adad, the fact that the claims of antiquity of lineage made by Esarhaddon, Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin limit themselves to the evidence of AKL., the description of Šamsi-Adad I as "my ancestor" by Esarhaddon, and the apparently arbitrary use of abī in inscriptions generally (as for instance in Puzur-Aššur's application of the description to Sargon and to Ilušuma), suggest that in such contexts abu ought to be interpreted in a wider sense as expressing an idea of continuity felt by the later kings in the relationship between community and god centred on the shrine of Assur^{vv} ⁽⁴⁷⁾ and personified in the ruler, who was the priest of Assur^{vv}. If the cult of Assur^{vv} were the means of

outcome of the unification of the nomad tribes who made the Assyrian settlement in the city, then as successors to the cult, the later national rulers may well have felt themselves, in personifying the community, to be descendants of the original tent-dwellers.

The obscure expression šilitti (?) abbēya in an inscription of Adad-nirari I (KAH 1 5 33-35: ' e . g a l u r u - i a (d) Assur ša (md) Assur - s u m - a - h i ŠI-lit-ti a d . m e - i a l u g a l a - l i k p a - n i - i a i - n a p a - n a e - p u - š u "My palace in the city of Assur which Assur-nadin-ahhe, an indirect(?) ancestor, my predecessor, built formerly.") may, however, be an exceptional case of more careful reference to the actual genealogical connection. Though a member of the Adasi dynasty, Assur-nadin-ahhe II was not an ancestor of Adad-nirari but a collateral ascendant, the last king of a short subsidiary line branching from Assur-nirari II, a direct ancestor⁽⁴⁸⁾ of Adad-nirari I. CAD (I/1 p.72a [3a]) and Geers and Jacobsen⁽⁴⁹⁾ interpret šilitti abbēya as meaning "an indirect ancestor"⁽⁵⁰⁾. The latter read li-lit-ti a d . m e - i a⁽⁵¹⁾ "offspring of my ancestors", a reading, which, though not impossible, is described by R. Borger, EAK Ve, as "sehr unwahrscheinlich". A. Schott, OLZ 33, Sp. 886, translates "der Überlegenste meiner Väter", apparently deriving šilittu from the III theme of elū, "to go up". The term is, however, never used elsewhere by kings as an epithet, either for themselves or for an ancestor, and there is furthermore no evidence that Assur-nadin-ahhe was a particularly outstanding king or likely to be honoured by Adad-nirari, who had three illustrious predecessors in his own line to look back to.⁽⁵²⁾ In view of the genealogical position, it is most likely that ŠI-lit-ti a d . m e - i a, whatever its reading and derivation, was a way of expressing the fact that Assur-nadin-ahhe belonged to a subsidiary line of the dynasty. There is no evidence that

the term was in common use, for the need to express such a relationship must have arisen only rarely.

The tradition that preserved the names of the previous builders appears to have been remarkably accurate, when it can be checked. Original inscriptions of Ilu^usuma⁽⁵³⁾ and Iri^usum⁽⁵⁴⁾, for instance, show them to have been indeed builders respectively of the I^ustar temple and of the A^uššur temple. The means by which their names were preserved was, of course, the royal monuments, which have been discussed in the previous chapter, where it was shown that the primary duty of respect to such monuments was the preservation of the record, and hence the memory, of the author's name. In view of the importance of this duty it is hardly surprising that the names of the builders of important temples, palaces and fortifications were remembered over a period of two thousand years.

A striking illustration of this process is afforded by the inscription of the LB king of the Chaldaean dynasty, Nebuchadrezzar, a rare example of a reference to an "ancestor" in a Babylonian royal inscription. VAB 4 78 19ff. (Deimel, Or. 26 pp. 70f.) records this king's rebuilding of the temple of Sukkal-Maradda at Marad:⁽⁵⁵⁾ ša i^us-tu u⁴-um re-e-qu-u-tim te-me-en-^usu la-bi^u-ri-im la i-mu-ru ^ušar ma-aḥ-ri-im te-me-en-^usu la-bi^u-ri-im a-ḥi-it ab-ri-e-ma e-li te-me-en-na ^uša Na-ra-am-(d)Sin l u g a l a-ba-a-am la-bi^u-ri u-ki-in uš-^usu-^usu ^uši-te-ir ^ušu-mi-ia ab-ni-ma u-ki-in ki-ir-bu-uš-^usu (LL.19-28), "whose ancient foundation deposit no earlier king had seen since far-off times. I found and I scanned its ancient foundation deposit, and I laid its foundations above the foundation deposit of Naram-Sin, a remote royal ancestor; I made an inscription bearing my name and placed it inside them". There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Nebuchadrezzar's statement that he had found an inscription that was nearly 2,000 years old, just as his own

inscription has been found over 2,000 years since he left it. It is unlikely, however, that Nebuchadrezzar could really have believed or wished to claim⁽⁵⁶⁾ that he was descended from Naram-Sin, except in the metaphorical sense of carrying on the tradition of temple building which was part of the royal heritage. The revival of the cultural and religious traditions of southern Mesopotamia after the conquest of Assyria by Nabopolassar may have contributed to strengthen this sense of continuity with the past.⁽⁵⁷⁾

2:2. Other sources

References to individual kings as ancestors are rare outside building inscriptions. Assurnasirpal II in his annals⁽⁵⁸⁾ refers to images⁽⁵⁹⁾ of two of his "ancestors", Tiglath-pileser and Tukulti-Ninurta.⁽⁶⁰⁾ References to precedent in diplomatic correspondence usually allude to the example of ancestors in general, but in EA 16 Assuruballit I, complaining about the small quantity of gold sent to him by Amenophis IV, writes (19-21): un-du (md)A-sur-na-din-abhe a-bi a-na Mi-is-ri is-pu-ru
20 g u n g u š k i n ul-te-bi-lu-ni-su "When Assur-nadin-abhe, my ancestor, wrote to Egypt, they sent him 20 talents of gold". It is not clear whether the reference is to Assur-nadin-abhe I, Assuruballit's great-grandfather's brother or Assur-nadin-abhe II, cousin and predecessor of his father.⁽⁶¹⁾ No diplomatic correspondence of either of these two kings has been preserved. Whichever is meant, the imprecision of the use of abu is in this case clear. The evidence is too slight to prove that in the time of Assuruballit the term abu included collateral ascendants, a possibility in view of the three hundred years of fraternal succession, ending with Eriba-Adad, Assuruballit's father.⁽⁶²⁾

3. Note on the Mesopotamian View of the Past

It will have been observed that a number of the building inscriptions quoted above give details of the precise number of years considered to have elapsed between rebuildings. This information is demonstrably less accurate than the information concerning the builders, (see especially M. B. Rowton, CAH (2) I/VI 31f).

The Mesopotamian view of the past, insofar as it may be understood by modern scholars, appears to have been based on a cyclical conception of events, seen as examples, rather than (as in a modern "evolutionary" view) as stages in a developmental process, (see especially J. J. Finkelstein, PAPS 107/6 (1963) 461ff). In attempting to reconstruct Mesopotamian chronology historians have, therefore, had to take account of the possible influence of round numbers, with either magical or astrological significance.

Various attempts have been made to discover a recurring pattern in the numbers quoted in building inscriptions. Thus H. Lewy has pointed out (CAH (2) I/XXV pp.14f) the significance of periods of 350 years or multiples of 350 years in Assyrian building inscriptions. Lewy believes that this pattern may be traced back to the OA period and interprets the phrase: 7 da-a-ru i-ti-qú-ma in the Ninevite Stela of Šamši-Adad I (see Ch. III pp 144 f.) as referring to a period of 350 years, "7 dāru(m) periods (of 50 years) elapsed". E. Dhorme, however, (RHR 110 p.146) equates dāru(m) with the Hebrew dôr, "generation" = 80 years, while CAD(Vol.3 p.115) interprets dāru in this context as a "generation" of 70 years, and Hwb. (Vol. I p.164) as 60 years, without giving reasons. As dāru(m) does not occur elsewhere in this meaning and as one of the terms of the period referred to by Šamši-Adad (su-lum A-ka-de (k i) L.15) is of

uncertain interpretation, it would be unwise to build any chronological theories on this term, or to refer to dāru(m)-periods in the context of other Assyrian inscriptions.

Notes

1. See Ch. I:3.
2. In this section references to the ancestors of kings are taken as expressing the point of view of the kings, whether originating from the kings themselves or from subordinates, as in letters.
3. All versions of the text have the same phrase. The Sumerian version, published LIH No. 58, has l u g a l . e . n e . i r "for his kings".
4. Note in this text also mi-gi-ir (d)U t u, L.37 and compare the use of magāru(m) in the two other Babylonian texts quoted.
5. cf. EA 15:9-11: a-di an-ni ^Vsa ab-ba-ú-ia la iś-pu-ru u4-ma a-na-ku al-tap-ra-ak-ka "What my forefathers never sent before, I am now sending to you" (^{VV}Assur-uballit I). For OA examples see ^VŠamši-Adad's Ninevite stela i 19-22; "Aššur-Platte" i 12-17.
6. Note that Sennacherib, like his father Sargon II, never gives a genealogy in his inscriptions.
7. e.g. OIP 2 72:43; 99:45; 128:41-45; 131:55-9; 114:23-24; 117:8-9. Note the theme of superiority over ancestors in the descriptions in the creation myth Enuma Elish of each new generation of primordial deities as superior to its predecessors, though created in their image (Ee I 15-19).
8. ^Vsa iś-tu ul-la-a l u g a l . m e ^Vs ab-bu-ia e-pu-su-ma "Which from of old my royal ancestors had made".
9. [^Všā] l u g a l . m e ^Vs ab-bu-ú-[ia] i-na pa-na e-pu-[šū] "Which in the past my royal ancestors had made".
10. ^Vsa i-na pa-na XX-m e ^Vs a-lik pa-ni-ia e-pu-šu "Which in the past the kings who went before me had built". In these cases it is unlikely that the authors did not know the names of the earlier kings as they mention their memorial stelae (nar⁶). Presumably the names are not listed for the sake of brevity. alik pāniya (also alik mahri, e.g. OIP 2 95ff 66; see p.201 above). alāku pān s.o. = lit. "to go before, precede" (CAD I/1 p.317 b). In the same way alāku arki means "to go after" in various idioms, very rarely used of royal succession, e.g. VAB 4 68 31 (Nabopolassar): lu-ú māru lu-ú mār mārī a-li-ku ā-ar-ki-ia, "either a son or a grandson who is to succeed me" (see CAD I/1 p.320). Only in Elam documents does

alik arki mean "heir" (CAD I/1 p.342 1). Note that ridit (w)arkati(m) of heiresses in OB documents means "(female) successor to the estate". ((w)arkatu(m) = "that left behind", see Glossary.)

11. AKA 290-1 i 104-105: ina s a g e-ne (id) Su-ub-na-at a-sarg sa-lam ša (m) G i š . t u k u l - t i - a . é . š á r . r a ū (m) G i š . t u k u l - t i - (d) M a š XX (kur) Aššur a d . m e š -a i-za-zu-ū-ni sa-lam XX-ti-a ab-ni it-ti-šú-nu ū-še-zi-iz "At the source of the R. Subnat, where stand images of Tiglath-pileser and Tukulti-Ninurta, kings of Assyria, my ancestors, I set up a stone image of my royal person beside them".

12. LL 15-18: a-na-ku ki-i ga-al-la-ku-ni ri-i-ba-ni-e la a-mur "I, being deaf, did not notice the earthquake". But perhaps no irony is intended,

13. But ABL 34 reports an earthquake apparently outside Assyria, and ABL 191 comes from the reign of Aššurbanipal, i.e. later than Esarhaddon. ABL 34:9 and 357:13 show (as does ABL 355) that earthquakes had an established place in the interpretation and exorcism of omens. On earthquakes in general see Iraq 4 (1937) 186-8; Afo 13 (1940) 230ff.

14. See Ch. III pp. 154 f.

15. An oracle of Ninlil to Aššurbanipal. LL 8-10 describe the foreign kings plotting the overthrow of Assyria. L.10: [.....](pl.) a-na a d . m e š -ni a d . a d . m e š -ni i-šī-mu-u-ni "[The Assyrians?] decided the fate of our fathers and grandfathers".

16. An obscure administrative text (NA), apparently dealing with concessions to certain villagers concerning the use of trees, whose bark was used in tanning. The text consists mainly of a list of names. L 31 reads: a d . m e š -šū-nu a d . a d . šū-nu. The text was found in House D at Carchemish.

17. L 89 g a z . h á ni-iq-qí-(há) ša a-bi a d -ni ša uš-te-pí šū-u-šū-nu "(I performed) the rites and sacrifices of our grandfathers which they had instituted for them". Note also ki-me-e pa-nu-ti-ni-ma "like those who preceded us", ki-ma a . a . (abbē)-ni-ma (L 87).

18. See A. L. Oppenheim BASOR 107 (1947) pp 7-11 on this phrase.

19. Or "served"? See Oppenheim JAOS 61 p.264 n.66.

20. Diplomatic relations at this period were synonymous with trade relations, as trade seems to have been a royal monopoly.

21. iš-tu Ka-ra-in-da-aš ištu mārē-šipri ša ab-bi-ka a-na mu-uh-bi ab-bi-ia itallakuni, "Since the time of Karaindash, since messengers of your forefathers have been coming to my forefathers!"

22. cf. also EA 9, e.g. L 12: i-na-an-na-ma gu š k i n ma-a-ad ma-la ša ab-bi-ka su-bi-la "So now send as much gold as your forefathers (used to send)". See also Tn Epic (Archaeologia 79 Pl. 49) "v" 15-17: e-nu-ma [ina] ma-har i-lu-ti-ka iš-[ku]-nu ri-kil-ta ub-bu-ú-ni ú-kin-nu ma-mi-ta ina bi-ri-šu-nu g a l -ut-ka iz-zak-ru ša iš-tu ma[h]-ra d i . k u d ab-be-e-ni la-a muš-pe-lu-ú gu-ra-du at-ta "When in the presence of your godhead our ancestors made a treaty, they took an oath and swore by your might, and you, valiant one, who from of old have not changed a decision concerning our ancestors, (be witness to our right)" (Prayer of Tukulti-Ninurta to Šamaš before going to fight the Babylonians who had broken the treaty). For a possible reference to "ancestors" in a king list see Ch VI, p. 228 and notes 20-21.

23. In a request for military assistance.

24. e.g. 122:12; 121:77; 126 119; 130 21; 109 6-8; 124 47. Note also 224 15, similar complaint by Šum-Addu.

25. The letter is a complaint that personnel have been conscripted from the temple, instead of a tax in grain according to the official ruling. It is possible to translate abbū here, as Driver does, "patrons" (see CAD I/1 p.73a 5). As a number of men are involved, abbū could also mean literally "fathers". The same is true of ab-bu-ku-nu in YOS 2 2 16, also translated by Driver op. cit. p.33ff. as "patrons". Note that CAD reads lib(!)-ba-ku-nu for ab-ba-ku-nu in L 21 of the latter text (Vol. I/1 p.106a 7b)).

26. See n.18 above on this phrase. Omens also refer to continuity of the physical house as desirable, e.g. Alu 5 37: 6 b i ultabbar(bar) "That house will become old" and passim Alu.

27. Also in West Semitic contexts, e.g. EA 116 66; Idrimi 3; Wiseman Alalakh 7 11.

28. See Ch. I, p. 21 . But W. Von Soden (Hwb I p.7) interprets abbū(pl.) as "parents" here, although this meaning is not attested elsewhere.

29. AAA 19 105ff. 10-13: ša Ma-an-iš-ti-šu d u m u Šar-ru-
(Ninevite Stela)

ki-in l u g a l A-gà-dè(ki) i-pu-š^vu; Aššur-Platte (KAH 1 2)
18-21: [é (d)] En-lil [ša I]-ri-š^vum [d u m u D i n g i r] -
š^vum-ma [i-p]u-š^vu.

30. The six kings from Sulili to Ilušuma, who include Kikkia, are not linked with each other by the King List, i 21-25 (JNES 13 p.213), although the last three (Puzur-Aššur I, Šalimahi and Ilušuma) are known from inscriptions to be in a direct line of descent (see Ch. VI pp. 224 f.).

31. The figure differs from the 159 given by Shalmaneser (L 37).

32. p a b 17 l u g a l . m e š -a-ni a-š^vi-bu-tu kul-ta-ri
(SDAS: a-š^vi-bu-ti kul-ta-ri), Khors. List i 10, SDAS List i 9, JNES 13 210f. See Ch. VI n.12.

33. See especially H. Lewy CAH (2) I/XXV pp.17-19; and below, pp.236-7.

34. Not all building inscriptions which refer to former kings as ancestors have been discussed in the text. Others include- KAH1/3 37; 4 31 (Adad-nirari I of Puzur-Aššur I - again probably not in fact an ancestor); KAH 2 66 27 (Tiglath-pileser I of Tukulti-Ninurta I - not a direct ancestor but a collateral ascendant, & possibly Ibid L 29 of Aššur-nadin-aḫḫe, also not a direct ancestor; see R. Borger, EAK IXr). In KAH 2 49 Tukulti-Ninurta I refers to the temple of (d)Di-ni-te, which "former kings" (XX . m e š a-lik pa-ni-ia, L 11) had built but "had been in ruins since the reign of Adad-nirari, priest of Aššur, my ancestor (grandfather)" (iš-tu b a l . m e š X . ERIM . GAB s a n g a Aššur a-bi-ia e-na-aḫ-ma, LL 13-15).

35. The third group in AKL. See below, Ch. VI n.34.

36. See discussion below, Ch. VI pp.226-8; n.34.

37. See n.46 below.

38. Actually always "Belu-bani (son of Adasi)". See Ch. VI pp.232ff.

39. See A. Poebel, JNES 1 p.265f; 469. Note that Sargon also describes himself as n u m u 'n BAL . TIL . KI in TCL 3 113, discussed below, p.239.

40. For possible readings see A. Poebel, JNES 1 p.266f; H. Lewy, CAH I/XXV pp.5f. See Ch. VI n.66.

41. On the linguistic and archaeological evidence for the ethnic affinities of the pre-Assyrian population see H. Lewy, loc. cit. pp.4-6.

42. The six kings ending with Adasi are described as 6 l u g a l m e š -ni d u m u la ma-ma-na (SDAS List a la ma-ma-na)

"6 kings, sons of nobodies" (Khors. List, ii 10; SDAS List ii 11). On this phrase see Ch. II pp. 85f. and n. 107.

43. An "old" family means, of course, a family of high status, which had held that status for long enough for its history or ancestry to be remembered.

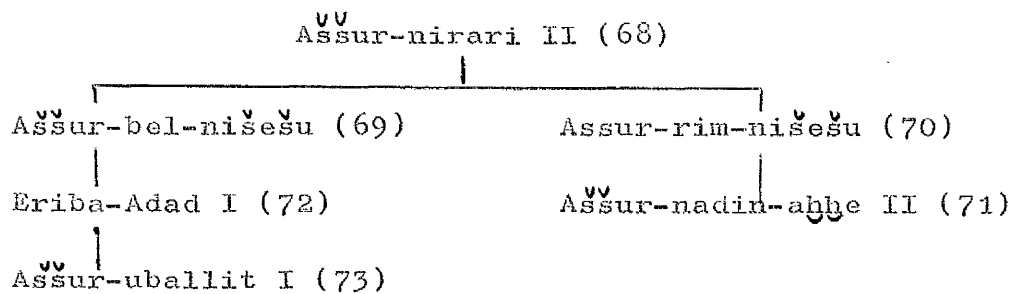
44. See also the clear examples in n. 34 of collateral ascendants being termed "ancestor".

45. [(md)Šam]-šī-(d)I š k u r d u m u (m)AN-kab-ka-bi [i-na t]ar-si (m)Na-ram-(d)XX[a-na (kur) Kar-du-ni]-āš d u -ik ina lim-me (m)Ib-ni-(d)I š k u r [(md)Šam-šī-(d)I š k u r t a (kur)Kar-du-ni-āš [e-la-a (uru)É . g a l . m e š] is-bat [3 m u . m e š i-na (uru)É . g a l . m e š] lu ū-šī-ib [ina lim-me (m)A-ta-mar-XV] (md)Šam-šī-(d)I š k u r [t a (uru)É . g a l . m e š l]u e-la-a [(m)E-ri-šu d u m u (m)Na-ram-(d)XXX ina g i]š . g u . z a lu-šat-bi g i s . g u . z a is-bat 33 m u . m e š l u g a l -ta d ū -us (Khors List i 39 - ii 1) "Šamšī-Adad, son of Ila-kabkabu went to Karduniash (Babylonia) during the reign of Naram-Sin. In the limmu of Ibni-Adad Šamšī-Adad came out of Babylonia and conquered Ekallate. He remained 3 years in Ekallate. In the limmu of Atamar-Ištar, Šamšī-Adad came out of Ekallate and seized the throne from Erišu, son of Naram-Sin. He reigned for 33 years". See also Ch. VI n. 18.

46. See below, pp. 231 ff. . Adad-nirari describes himself as "descendant of Enlil-kabkabu", apparently to be identified with Ila-kab-kabi, one of the earliest kings in the King List.

47. See G. Van Driel, The Cult of Aššur (1969).

48. The succession during the period between Aššur-nirari II (68) and Aššur-uballiṭ (No. 73 in AKL) appears to have been as follows:



According to the King List, all these kings were sons of their predecessors, but original inscriptions of Aššur-uballiṭ (KAH 2 27;28), Eriba-Adad I (KAH 2 25), and Aššur-rim-nišešu (KAH 1

63) show a system of fraternal succession to have been in operation, (see Ch. II 2:2:3). Even if Adad-nirari's reference were to Aššur-nadin-aḫḫe I, the relationship would still be indirect, as the genealogies of Aššur-uballiṣ I and Eriba-Adad I show that Aššur-nirari II was son of Aššur-rabi and therefore brother of Aššur-nadin-aḫḫe I (No. 66).

49. ZA (NF) = 39 5 p.224.

50. The CAD translation is tentative: "an indirect (?) ancestor".

51. For lillidu "offspring" √(w)alādu(m), see Glossary and Hwb. I p.553. The fem. lillittu is used only of female subjects in the examples given by Von Soden.

52. See below, pp. 229 f.

53. ZA 43 p.115. See Ch. VI n.3.

54. Bulletin 14. See Ch. VI pp. 224 f.

55. In central Babylonia. The site is Wannah-es-Sa Cadun, about 30 miles SE of Kish, 15 miles north of Diwaniyah. See F. R. Kraus, ZA 51 56ff (Dupl. JEOL 6 258).

56. In Babylonia the kings of the Dynasty of Akkad, especially Naram-Sin, were remembered as symbols of disaster. See in general H. Güterbock, ZA 42. 1-91, H. Lewy, CAH I/XXV 9-14. For publications of chronicles and legends concerning Naram-Sin, see A. Falkenstein, LKU No. 41. (cf. Güterbock, Afo 13 50; A. Falkenstein ZA 57 43ff; E. Weidner, Afo 13, 50f.). (The "Weidner" Chronicle concerning Sargon and Naram-Sin); AnSt 5: 93-113; 6:163ff. (cf. J. J. Finkelstein JCS 11:83-88) (The "Cuthaeen" Legend of Naram-Sin). By contrast, these kings were remembered with reverence by the later Assyrian kings. See H. Lewy CAH I/XXV pp.10-13, and note the respect shown to monuments of Maništusu by Šamsi-Adad according to his Ninevite Stela (see Ch. III n.106).

57. The Ass./Bab. pattern was copied by the Achaemenid emperors in their own building inscriptions, e.g. Art. Susa A (VAB 3 p.123) 3: ap-pa-da-an (m) Da-ri-ya-a-muš a d a d a d -ia i-te-pu-uš ina ku-tal ul-lu-ú ina pa-ni (m) Ar-tak-šat-su a d [a d] -ia i-ša-tum ta-ta-ak-ka-al-šu "The appadana which Darius(I) my great-grandfather built, (and) later on, under Artaxerxes (I), my grandfather, fire consumed it..." (Darius I was actually the great-great-grandfather of Artaxerxes II, as he states in his genealogy (L 2)).

58. See n.11 above. This case may be compared with building

inscriptions, as the reference to the ancestors is inspired by the discovery of their memorial.

59. Probably in relief on stela or on bare rock.

60. If Tukulti-Ninurta I is meant, the description as "ancestor" is not strictly correct, as this king would have been a collateral ascendant. Tukulti-Ninurta II was Aššur-naširpal's father.

61. See Table VI.

62. See Ch. II 2:2:3.

C H A P T E R S I X

Personal Genealogy and the Concept of Lineage - Royal

This section is concerned with the personal genealogies of individual kings occurring in royal inscriptions, i.e. with the ancestors from whom these kings chose to claim descent (as distinct from the impersonal record of the King Lists). A true genealogy should list all the links connecting the descendant with the earliest ancestor named. Complete lists of this type are a relatively rare phenomenon in Mesopotamian royal inscriptions. Claims of descent from a renowned ancestor without reference to all the intermediate links are rather more common and will be discussed separately from the genuine genealogies.

1. Genuine genealogies

Complete genealogies in royal inscriptions are found only for Assyrian kings. Three patterns may be distinguished:—

1:1 Repetitive genealogies

The longest genealogies follow the pattern: "KN (titles) (is) the son of KN₂ (titles); KN₂ (titles) (was) the son of KN₃", etc., up to a maximum of six generations (KN₇). Eight genealogies of this pattern are known from the inscriptions of six kings during the period of approximately 700 years separating the reign of Ilu^vsuma from that of Shalmaneser I. The earliest genealogies of this type come from four inscriptions⁽¹⁾ of Ilu^vsuma and his two successors Iri^vsum and Ikunum, who all trace their genealogy back as far as Puzur-Aš^vsur I, grandfather of Ilu^vsuma, e.g. Bellettin 14:219ff. 1-4: I-ri-su-um s a n g a A-šur [d u m u Dingir -^vsu-ma] s a n g a A-šur Dingir^v su-ma d u m u Šal-ma-hi-i[m s a n g a A-šur Ša]-lim-a-hu-

u[m] d[u m u] M a n -A-šur [s a n g a A-šur] "Irišum, priest of Aššur, son of Ilušuma, priest of Aššur; Ilušuma (was) the son of Šalimahum, priest of Aššur; Šalimahum (was) the son of Pušur-Aššur, priest of Aššur". The longest genealogy of this group is naturally that of Irišum's son Ikunum⁽³⁾, going back four generations. The reasons why these three kings chose to take their genealogies back as far as Pušur-Aššur I are not entirely clear, though Pušur-Aššur is known to have rebuilt the fortification wall of the city of Aššur⁽⁴⁾, an act which generally symbolised the restoration of Assyrian independence⁽⁵⁾.

The other main group of genealogies of this type comes from the inscriptions of two early kings of the Adasi dynasty, Eriba-Adad and his son and successor, Aššur-uballit I. In KAH 2 27 (IAK XVII/3) and in IAK XVII/5⁽⁶⁾, Aššur-uballit traces his genealogy back six generations to Pušur-Aššur III. His genealogy in KAH 2 28 (IAK XVII/4) is broken after three generations (Aššur-nirari II) but may have continued to Pušur-Aššur III. KAH 2 27:1-12 reads: (md)Aššur- t i . l a s a n g a (d)Aššur d u m u E-ri-ba-(d)I š k u r (m)E-ri-ba-(d)I š k u r s a n g a (d)Aššur d u m u (d)Aššur- e n -n i -š e -š u (md)Aššur- e n . n i -š e -š u s a n g a (d)Aššur d u m u (d)Aššur-ni-ra-ri (md)Aššur-ni-ra-ri s a n g a (d)Aššur d u m u (md)Aššur- g a l (md)Aššur- g a l s a n g a (d)Aššur d u m u (d)En- l i l -n a -s i r (md)En-lil-na-sir s a n g a (d)Aššur d u m u (m)B u z ū r -(d)Aššur s a n g a (d)Aššur, "Aššur-uballit, priest of Aššur, son of Eriba-Adad (I); Eriba-Adad, priest of Aššur, was the son of Aššur-bel-nišešu; Aššur-bel-nišešu, priest of Aššur was the son of Aššur-nirari (II); Aššur-nirari, priest of Aššur, was the son of Aššur-rabi (I); Aššur-rabi, priest of Aššur, was the son of Enlil-našir (I); Enlil-našir, priest of Aššur, was the son of Pušur-Aššur, priest of Aššur."

In the cuneiform text lines are drawn separating each

ruler's name from his father's name, producing a series of two-line compartments each containing the same name twice. This is the longest known genealogy of this pattern. KAH 2 28. 1-9 has the same genealogy as KAH 2 27.1-6, but does not use dividing lines, and differs also in designating each king as e n s i k (d)A-^vsur "regent of Assur"^v instead of s a n g a (d)Assur^v. The genealogy of Eriba-Adad, KAH 2 25 obv. 1-10 (fragmentary), is broken after three generations (Assur-rabi^v), but may have continued to Puzur-Assur III^v. This genealogy differs from those of Assur-uballit^v in placing the title (s a n g a (d)A-^vsur) after the first instead of the second mention of the ancestor's name (e.g. [d u m u (d)A-^vsur . e n - ni-se-su^v [s a n g a A-^vsur^v-ma (LL 3-4) etc.). Borger (EAK IIIIf) suggests that these inscriptions were modelled on the earlier inscriptions of Ilu^vsuma, Iri^vsum and Ikunum and that the choice of Puzur-Assur III^v was in imitation of the choice of Puzur-Assur I^w by these earlier kings. So little is known about the activities of these Dark Age kings that the possible significance of Puzur-Assur III^v in the memory of his descendants cannot be guessed?⁽⁹⁾

The last example of a genealogy of this kind is in one inscription of Shalmaneser I, published IAK XXI/16,⁽¹⁰⁾ which traces his ancestry back to his^{great-}great-grandfather, Assur-uballit^v I, who was a renowned ruler, and whose own inscriptions may possibly have suggested the use of this style of genealogy. The genealogy of Shalmaneser's father, Adad-nirari I, in the standard introduction to his inscriptions also goes back to Assur-uballit^v (see 1:2 below), but Shalmaneser's own inscriptions generally take the genealogy no further than his grandfather, Arik-den-ili (see EAK VIE).

The only other context in which a genealogy of this pattern occurs is the Assyrian King List. The kings of the

second group, following the group of tent-dwellers,⁽¹¹⁾ are listed in inverse order, each being described as son of the next:

(m)A-mi-nu d u m u (m)AN-kab-ka-bi (m)AN-kab-ka-bi d u m u
 (m)Ia-[√]AS-kur-AN (m)Ia-[√]AS-kur-AN d u m u (m)Ia-ak-me-ni
 (m)Ia-ak-me-ni d u m u (m)Ia-ak-me-si (m)Ia-ak-me-si
 d u m u (m)AN-Me-ir (m)AN . me-ir d u m u (m)Ha-ia-a-ni
 (m)Ha-ia-a-ni d u m u (m)Sa-ma-a-ni (m)Sa-ma-nu d u m u
 (m)Ha-li-e (m)Ha-li-e d u m u (m)A-pi-a-[√]sal (m)A-pi-a-[√]sal⁽¹²⁾
 d u m u (m)U[√]s-pi-a (Khors List i 11-20 // SDAS List i 10-19).

The generally accepted view,⁽¹³⁾ first argued by B. Landsberger, JCS 8, p.33f, is that this group of kings, some of whom have distinctly West Semitic names, belongs to the genealogy of [√]Samsi-Adad I, which was inserted in order to link artificially [√]Samsi-Adad with U[√]spia and A[√]pias[√]al, the last of the tent-dwellers, and so legitimise his usurpation.⁽¹⁴⁾ On this argument the Ila-kabkabu mentioned in the Khorsabad list i 39 (SDAS i 38)⁽¹⁵⁾ as father of [√]Samsi-Adad, were the same, and Aminu and [√]Samsi-Adad were brothers. The two names occur in close proximity in a broken context in a Mari letter (published by C.-F. Jean, RES 1939 p.66, quoted by B. Landsberger, JCS 8 p.34): ...A-mi-nim... (d)[√]Samsi- ([√]si) -(d)Adad.....Ia-ah-du-li-im. H. Lewy, however,⁽¹⁶⁾ accepts that Aminu and his ancestors were ancestors of the Puzur-A[√]ssur dynasty, which preceded [√]Samsi-Adad I, and whose members are listed in the King List as successors of (m)Su-li-li d u m u (m)A-mi-ni.⁽¹⁷⁾ A great deal has been written on the complex relationship between the earlier sections of the King List and the actual course of the succession, with no consensus of opinion being reached. The problem cannot be discussed at length in this thesis, but some of the main theories are mentioned in n.34 below.

Whichever interpretation is accepted, it is apparent that

the genealogy was inserted in order to support the claims of a later dynasty to the throne, most probably in the aftermath of the struggle for the throne after the death of Samsi-Adad's son, Isme-Dagan I. The king list summarises this group of

kings as: p a b 10 l u g a l . m e š -ni ša a d . m e š -
su-nu-ni which may mean either "Total of ten kings who have
 (known) fathers" or "Total of ten kings who are ancestors".

If the latter interpretation is accepted, the summary underlines the genealogical purpose of the section. Possibly the intention of the statement is to indicate that the source of this section was the genealogy of an individual king and not, as for later kings, the limmu lists.

Finally it may be noted that the repetitive pattern of genealogy recurs at a very late period of Babylonian history, outside the scope of this thesis. A number of Achaemenid kings of the 4th century and later employ the same form of genealogy in their inscriptions, see F. H. Weissbach, VAB 3 pp. 113-129. Artaxerxes II takes his genealogy back five generations to Hystaspes (p.123 1-2). It is possible that the origins of this usage were independent of Assyrian examples, and should be sought in the original nomadic culture of these Persian rulers.

1:2 Standard genealogies

Most Assyrian royal genealogies follow the briefer pattern: KN mar KN₂ mar KN₃, etc. There is no reason to assume that in such genealogies mar KN₃/KN₄, etc. is in apposition to KN, meaning "descendant" of KN₃/KN₄, etc., as the interpretation "KN son of KN₂ (who was) the son of KN₃", with maru is apposition to each ancestor's name in turn is quite acceptable and is comparable with the usage in repetitive genealogies (see section 1:1), of which this pattern may be an abbreviation. The extent of the genealogies varies:

(a) Many Assyrian royal genealogies go back to the grandfather, e.g. KAH 2 29 1;9;11: (m)A-ri-ik-de-en-d i n g i r d u m u
(d)B e ! . ERIM.GABd u m u (d)A-^vsur - t i, "Arik-den-ili, son of Enlil-nirari, son of Assur-uballit; 86 1-3: (m)l k z i m.
(d)M a ^v sa X . ERIM.GAB.... a Assur-dan(-an), "Tukulti-Ninurta (II), son of Adad-nirari (II), son of Assur-dan(II)"; and most inscriptions of Shalmaneser I (EAK VIIe), Tiglath-Pileser I (EAK IXr), Esarhaddon,⁽²⁴⁾ etc.

(b) Occasionally a genealogy of this type goes back to the great-grandfather, e.g. KAH 2 82 1-4: (m)Assur-dan(-an) XX dan-nu XX K i ^v s XX (kur)Assur d u m u G i ^v s . t u k u l -t i-
i b i l a . é . š a r . r a X^λ dan-nu XX K i ^v s XX (kur)Assur d u m u Assur- s a g . i -š i XX dan-nu XX K i ^v s X^λ (kur)Assur d u m u Assur-g a l X^λ dan-nu XX K i ^v s X^λ (kur)Assur-ma.
"Assur-dan (II), mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Tiglath-pileser (II), mighty kings, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Assur-reš-iši (II), mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, son of Assur-rabi (II), mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria." Another inscription of Assur-dan II also takes the genealogy up to Assur-rabi (KAH 1 20:2-5), probably on the same pattern.⁽²⁵⁾ See also the inscription of Sin-šarra-iškun, quoted below in section 1:3.

1:3 "Ego-centred" Genealogies.

A few Assyrian inscriptions list the king's ancestors to the fourth or fifth generation, in terms of the relationship of the king ("ego") to each ancestor named. The earliest examples come from the genealogy in the standard introduction to the inscriptions of Adad-nirari I, in which for the first time the epithets of each ancestor include a summary of his achievements, e.g. KAH 1 3 1;15;24;29: (md)I ^v s k u r . ERIM. GAB...d u m u (m)A-ri-ik-dē-en-d i n g i r ... d u m u .

d u m u ša (md)En-lil-ERIM.GAB ... li-ip-li-pi ša (m)š á r .
 t i . l a "Adad-nirari, son of Arik-den-ili, grandson of
 Enlil-nirari, descendant⁽²⁶⁾ of Aššur-uballit". Tiglath-pileser I
 takes his genealogy back to his great-great-grandfather in
 his Annals, col. vii 42;45;49;55 (AKA pp.93-94): a (d)A-šur -
 s a g -i-ši ... a . . a ša (m)Mu-tak-kil -(d)E n š a d a
 i b i l a ki-e-nu ša (md)A-šur-da-a-an lib-lib-bi ša
 (d)Nin-urta . i b i l a . E-kur "Son of Aššur-reš-iši, grandson
 of Mutakkil-Nusku, legitimate heir of Aššur-dan, descendant
 of Ninurta-apil-Ekur". Ninurta-apil-Ekur was the founder of
 the branch of the dynasty to which Tiglath-pileser belonged
 (see below). Aššurnasirpal II's genealogy in his Annals col i
 (AKA 263-4),9;28-31, is similar to that of Adad-nirari I:
 (m)Aššur - p a b . a d u m u IKZIM . (d)M a š ... d u m u .
 d u m u ša (md)I š k u r . ERIM.GAB lib-lib-bi (m)Aššur-
da-an "Aššurnasirpal (II), son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II)....
 grandson of Adad-nirari (II)..... descendant of Aššur-dan (II)".
 Shalmaneser III's inscriptions use the unique phraseology: mār
Aššur-nāsir-apli..... nabmtu ellutu ša Tukulti-Ninurta, "Son
 of Aššurnasirpal (II), noble offspring (lit. "creation"⁽²⁷⁾) of
 Tukulti-Ninurta (II)", a rare example of an "ego-centred"
 genealogy going back only to the grandfather, e.g. AAA 19 108
 6; WO 19 3; 12 8; 456 26; 2 28 16. Another example is the
 genealogy of Aššurbanipal in his Clay Tablet inscription,
 Lehmann, Šsmk Pl. XXV 1;4;7: (md)š á r . d ù . a d u m u
 (md)š á r . š e š . s u m -na.... d u m u . d u m u (d)XXX
 š e š . m e š . s u , "Aššurbanipal.... son of Esarhaddon....
 grandson of Sennacherib". The genealogies of Aššurbanipal and
 Samsaš-suma-ukin more usually continue to Sargon II, their
 great-grandfather, in the form lib-lib-bi Sarru-ken, "descendant
 of Sargon", e.g. Lehmann, Šsmk Pl. XXIV (No. 13) L.2: [d u m u .
 d u m u] (md)XXX . p a b . m e š . s u [li-i]p-li-pi (m)

L u g a l . g i . n a . Sin-sarra-iskun uses, in two of his inscriptions, a mixed formulation with mar KN up to his great-grandfather, Sennacherib, but describing himself as līplīpi Šarru-kēn (š a . b a l . b a l (m) L u g a l . g i . n a) (KAH 2 129; 134)⁽²⁸⁾.

2. Claims of Descent

The pattern discussed in 1:3 occurs fairly frequently in both Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions, but in incomplete genealogies, in which after the father (and often grandfather) certain more remote ancestors are selected for reasons which will be discussed below, ^{and} the intervening ancestors are omitted.

Adad-nirari II describes himself (KAH 2 84 11-12) as:
 d u m u (m) Assur-dan (-an) i-lit-ti el-lu-tu ša (m) Assur-sa g -i-ši, "Son of Assur-dan (II)..... noble offspring of Assur-reš-iši (II)". Assur-reš-iši II was his great grandfather, and he omits his grandfather, Tiglath-pileser II. Ninurta-apil-Ekur is described by the Assyrian King List as "a descendant of Eriba-Adad", (who ~~the~~ reigned about 200 years before), in explanation of his claim to the throne: (md) M a š . i b i l a . E . kur d u m u (m) U i n g i r -i-ha [d-da] līb-līb-bi ša (m) S u . (d) I š k u r ana (kur) Kar-du-ni-ās i [l-lik] t a (kur) Kar-du-ni-ās e-la-a g i š . g u . z a is-bat ⁽²⁹⁾ m u . m e š l u g a l - t a d ū -ūš. "Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Ilu-ibadda, descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Babylonia. He came up from Babylonia and seized the throne. For three years he exercised kingship."

(JNES 13 p.218 Col. iii 27-30) In the brief inscription published by E. Weidner, Afo 13 p.123, Anm. 31, this king describes himself as mar Eriba-Adad, omitting to mention his own, non-royal father.⁽³⁰⁾

Very remote ancestry is apparently claimed in an extraordinary inscription of Adad-nirari III, who gives as his genealogy (IR Pl. 35, No. 3:9;11;14;19;21;23-26): a (md) U t u . -

si . X.....a (md)S i l i m -ma-nu . m a š d u m u .
d u m u sa (m)Assur- p a b . a š a . b a l . b a l
(m)T u k u l . -ti - (d)M a š lib-lib-bi sa (md)S i l i m . -
ma-nu - m a š lib-li-bi sa (md)BE? -kab-ka-bi XX pa-ni a-lik
mah-ri gu-ud!-mu XX-ti sa (m)Su-li-li "Son of Šamsi-Adad (V)

... son of Shalmaneser (III)... grandson of Assurnasirpal (II),
... descendant of Tukulti-Ninurta (II?) ... descendant of
Shalmaneser (I?) ... descendant of Enlil (?) -kabkabu, a former
king, a predecessor from before the reign of Sulili". The
unusual features of this genealogy are:-

- (a) The use of the two Sumerograms for "son", a and d u m u (in d u m u . d u m u), in the same genealogy.⁽³¹⁾
- (b) The use of d u m u . d u m u "grandson" to describe Adad-nirari's relationship to his great-grandfather, Assurnasirpal.
- (c) The use of three distinct writings for liblibbi "descendant" in the same inscription.
- (d) The reference to a very remote ancestor, given as "Enlil-kabkabu", possibly to be identified with Ila-kabkabu, one of the second group of kings in the Assyrian King List, and considered by most scholars to be identical with the king of that name who was father of Šamsi-Adad I.⁽³²⁾ Whether gudmu sarruti sa Sulili in LL.25-26 is understood as "before the reign of Sulili" or as "in the old time of the Sulili dynasty"⁽³³⁾, it is clear that Adad-nirari is tracing his descent to the oldest period of Assyrian history. This is the only reference to Sulili in a later inscription.⁽³⁴⁾

The most remote ancestor claimed in the genealogies of other kings is Belu-bani, son of Adasi, who ruled in the seventeenth century. Only the Sargonid kings, Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin, choose to claim descent from this ancestor, e.g. Borger, Asarh. 47 (BA 3 p.351ff)26-29:
d u m u (md)XXX . š e š . m e š . s u -ba l u g a l š u

L u g a l (kur)^{vv}Assur(ki) d u m u (m)L u g a l . g i n
 L u g a l (kur)^{vv}Assur(ki) li-ip-li-pi da-ru-ú ša (d)En-ba-ni
 d u m u (m)A-da-si l u g a l (kur)^{vv}Assur(ki) n u n u z
 BAL.TIL.KI ^vsu-qu-ru n u m u n l u g a l -ú-tu ki-sit-ti
ša-a-ti, "Son of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of
 Assyria, son of Sargon, king of Assyria, remote descendant of
 Belu-bani, son of Adasi, king of Assyria, precious scion of
 BAL.TIL.KI, of royal blood, of ancient stock"; 53 (BA 3 287ff)
 48-49: lib-lib-bi l u g a l (-ti) ^vša (m)E n -ba<ni> XX
 (kur)^{vv}Assur(ki) ki-sit-ti ša-a-ti ša du-rug-^všu BAL.TIL.KI.
 "Royal descendant of Belu-bani, king of Assyria, of an ancient
 stock, whose origin⁽³⁵⁾ is BAL.TIL.KI."; BBS 10 obv. 13-14 (^vŠamaš-
^vsuma-ukin): n u m u n da-ru-u ^vša [(d)E n -ba-ni d u m u
 (m)A-da-si] si-i-ti aḥ-ra-taš, "Remote descendant of Belu-bani,
 son of Adasi, the latest (born) offspring (of this lineage)⁽³⁶⁾".

Babylonian royal inscriptions are relatively rare, and
 only occasionally include genealogical material in the description
 of the king. In the long prologue to his laws, Hammurabi
 describes himself as li-ib-li-ib-bi ^vša Su-mu-la-el (Ch iv a
 67-8), "descendant of Sumu-la-el", who was his great-great-
 grandfather and second of the dynasty. His own father, Sin-
 muballit, is mentioned after Sumu-la-el: i b i l a da-nūn ^vša
 (d)EN.ZU - mu-ba-li-it (LL.69-70), "Strong⁽³⁷⁾ heir of Sin-muballit".
 The MB king, Marduk-apla-iddina I, is described in BBS 5 i 25 -
 25 as [d u m u M]e-li-Si-pak l u g a l T i n . t i r . k i
^vša . b a l ⁽³⁸⁾Ku-ri-gal-zu, "Son of Meli-Sipak, king of Babylon,
 descendant of Kurigalzu⁽³⁹⁾".

There appear to be several principles at work in the
 selection of ancestors in such genealogies. In some cases
 certain ancestors are clearly mentioned on account of their
 reputation, e.g. ^{vv}Assur-^vreš-^viši, ^{vv}Assur-dan, ^{vv}Kurigalzu. A number
 of the complete genealogies discussed in 1:3 may be explained

in the same way, the complete series of ancestors for three, four or five generations arising out of the historical fact of a series of powerful predecessors, such as the predecessors of Adad-nirari I and ^{vv}Assurnasirpal II, who laid the foundations of these rulers' successes, and Sargon II and his successors.

In the case of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, whose claim to the throne was very tenuous, the claim of descent is clearly an assertion of legitimacy. In accordance with this aim he bypasses his own father in the Afo 13 inscription and describes himself as "son" of Eriba-Adad.

Later kings seem concerned to emphasize their assertion of legitimacy by reference to antiquity of descent. This motive is evident in the claims of Adad-nirari III to be descended from Belu-bani. The specific claim of descent from Belu-bani, rather than his father, Adasi, founder of the dynasty who is not even always mentioned (e.g. Asarh. 53), would appear to be made because, as Adasi was originally a commoner, Belu-bani was the first king of the dynasty "born in the purple"⁽⁴⁰⁾. An exceptional degree of emphasis on dynastic stability and continuity in the inscriptions of the Sargonids has already been observed in Ch. III to be evident in their addresses to posterity and in Esarhaddon's concern to make sure of the succession of ^{vv}Assurbanipal.

There is no evidence to suggest that such "incomplete genealogies" were based on complete genealogies which would, in the case of Adad-nirari III and the Sargonids, be much longer than any which have survived. All the ancestors named in such "genealogies" occur in the king lists which, if consulted by a scribe concerned to establish the antiquity of a king's dynasty, would have been found to record a continuous line of descent after Adasi, the royal succession, however, occasionally

passing from brother to brother.⁽⁴¹⁾ The fraternal rivalries out of which Esarhaddon and earlier Sargon himself emerged as kings, may have contributed to make the Sargonids unusually sensitive on genealogical matters. There is, therefore, no necessity to postulate the use by the Sargonids of a complete genealogy, going back to Adasi, either written or oral, for any purpose, nor would the preservation of such genealogies be expected in a society such as that of Assyria which was not organised in segmented lineage groups.⁽⁴²⁾

3. The Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty

Reference has already been made in Ch. IV⁽⁴³⁾ to the OB document known as "the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty" (GHD).⁽⁴⁴⁾ This is a unique example of a type of document different from both the genealogies in royal inscriptions and the king lists. Although the list of names which forms the major part of this document is not in inverse chronological order, as are the genealogies discussed above, it is clear from the last nine names (Sumuabum to Ammiditana), and from its function as a list of names to be invoked in the royal ancestor cult, that it is the ancestors of Ammisaduqa that are here listed. The document is quite different from the king lists in that the first twenty-one names listed are not intended to be taken as those of kings of Babylon but as those of the West Semitic ancestors of the First Dynasty of Babylon, begun by Sumuabum.

The first eight names show close similarities with the first eleven names of the Assyrian King List⁽⁴⁵⁾ (AKL), the first three being composite names, each derived from two original names. (m)He-a-na (L.4) (= (m)Ha-nu-ú, the tenth king in AKL) is clearly connected with the Hanu tribe frequently mentioned in the Mari letters.⁽⁴⁶⁾ It is generally agreed that the first ten names of GHD, i.e. the eight which belong to the same tradition

as the names in AKL, with the addition of (m)Am-na-nu and (m)Ya-ah-ru-rum (LL.9-10, see below), are of an artificial type, characteristic of the oral traditions of tribal societies, by which a mixture of remembered names of tribes, localities and famous chieftains is given the framework of a genuine lineage.⁽⁴⁷⁾ These records provide evidence of common traditions among the various West Semitic groups, attested as nomadic tribes and settled rulers at the beginning of the second millenium BC. The alliances which these rulers made among themselves when political expediency so dictated may have been facilitated by the persistence of these tribal traditions. Though political alliances were far from unknown in Mesopotamia before the period of domination by West Semitic chieftains, it was in the unsettled political conditions of the OB period that diplomatic alliances began to play a major role in Near Eastern political events, and that an elaborate protocol and terminology of diplomacy were evolved.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The importance of kinship in the cultural background of the West Semitic settlers, if not in their existing social systems, is indicated by their fictive use of kinship terminology to express diplomatic relations between rulers (see Appendix 1 n.30, n.37, n.38).

The point at which the OB tradition diverges from the Assyrian is marked in GHD by the reference to Amnanu and Yahrurum, which are attested in the Mari letters as names of tribes. A. Malamat (JAOS 88/1 [1968] p.168) quotes evidence showing connections between the Amnanu tribe and the OB dynasty of Uruk.⁽⁴⁹⁾

There is no evidence of the use of such a genealogical list at any other period of Babylonian history, nor is this tribal tradition alluded to in the genealogies known from inscriptions of Assyrian kings. Finkelstein takes all the ancestral names of this group in AKL, with the exception of Ušpia and Apiašal,⁽⁵⁰⁾ to be part of the genealogical tradition of Šamsi-Adad but, in

view of the strong West Semitic links of early Assyrian culture,⁽⁵¹⁾ it is equally possible that the genealogical traditions of the first Semitic settlers at Aššur were the same as those of the West Semitic dynasty at Babylon. The fact that the West Semitic genealogical tradition was incorporated in the official king list tradition in Assyria, but not in Babylonia, is probably due to the immediate propaganda needs of later Assyrian kings,⁽⁵²⁾ though the rule by Kassite kings, of an alien, non-Semitic culture, must also have made its preservation in Babylonia less likely.⁽⁵³⁾

4. The Concept of Royal Lineage

In the texts quoted in 2 above, the claims of descent from renowned or remote ancestors form part of the repertory of honorific epithets, their glory reflecting on their descendants. In the inscriptions of the Sargonids antiquity of descent is in itself a matter of pride, as shown by the frequent claims of being "of royal descent, of ancient stock" (zēr sarrūti kisitti sātī)⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Certain Babylonian kings also use in their inscriptions phrases showing pride in lineage, e.g. CH Prologue Va 1-2: n u m u n da-rī-um ša šar-ru-tim "of ancient royal descent"; YOS 9 35 (Pl. XII) 70-72: Sa-am-suei-lu-n[a] n u m u n i-li da-rī-[u]m wu-sūm šar-ru-[t]im, "Samsu-iluna, of ancient divine descent, of royal origin"; VR 35 i 1-7: A-gu-um-ka-ak-ri-me d u m u Ur-šī-gu-ru-maš n u m u n el-lum ša (d) Šu-qa-mu-nu ni-bi-it (d) A-nim u (d) Enlil (d) E-a u (d) A m a r . u d (d) XXX u (d) U t u, "Agumkakrime, son of Uršigurumaš, noble descendant of Šuqamunu,⁽⁵⁵⁾ appointed by Anum and Enlil, Ea and Marduk, Sin and Šamaš; LL.18-20: i b i l a reš-tu ša A-gu-um ra-bi-i n u m u n el-lum n u m u n l u g a l -ti, "Firstborn heir of Agum the Great, of noble descent, of royal descent"; the usurper Marduk-apla-iddina II describes himself as: n u m u n

l u g a l -u-ti da-ru-u mu-dam-me-iq zi-kir a-bi a-li-di-^vsu
i-lit-ti Eri-ba- (d)A m a r . u d l u g a l . T i n . t i r .
k i, "of ancient royal descent, making good the word of the
father who begat him, descendant of Eriba-Marduk, king of
Babylon" (VS 1 37 ii 40-44), attempting to legitimise his
usurpation by claiming descent from a king of the early eighth
century. The use of ellu(m) in the Agumkakrime inscription
to express nobility of lineage may be compared with its use
in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III quoted above (nabnātu
ellutu ^vsa (m)Tukulti-Ninurta⁽⁵⁶⁾), and of Adad-nirari II (litti
ellutu ^vsa (m)Aššur-reš-iši⁽⁵⁷⁾). The same concept seems to be
expressed by the use of šuguru⁽⁵⁸⁾, "most precious", in the phrase
n u n u z BAL.TIL.KI ^vsu-qu-ru (e.g. Borger, Asarh. 47:29;
40:17) and nasqu "chosen", in BBS VI i 2: na-as-qu si-it T i n .
t i r . k i . "chosen offspring of Babylon" (Nebuchadrezzar I).⁽⁵⁹⁾

zēru(m) (Sum. n u m u n) is the term most often used
to express the idea of continuity between a man and his
ancestors, a concept which is expressed in idiomatic English
by "blood" (or "family" in the sense of descent and not of a
group of kin). The Akk. term is also used for descendants in
the male line (see Ch. III), and for contemporary agnatic kin,
hence zēr ^vsarri = (in English idiom) "member(s) of the royal
family", e.g. (NA) ABL 511:5-6: PN n u m u n l u g a l ^vu
d a m -^vsu, "PN, a member of the royal family, and his wife";
(MB) EA 2:9: zi-ir l u g [a l] ^vsu-nu, "they are members of the
royal family" (kadasman-Harbe of Babylon writing to Amenophis III
of Egypt: broken context)⁽⁶⁰⁾. Extended in time, zēru(m) darû(m)
^vsa ^vsarrûti(m), used of reigning kings, means "member of a royal
lineage"; hence zēru(m) may have the meaning of "lineage", with-
out connotations of a "lineage group" with defined limits, but
defining the relationship between ancestors and descendants in
the male line.

zēru may also be used of ethnic links (cf. "race" in French), emotively expressing the sense of unity felt by Babylonians (e.g. TuL p.26 [Aššur 4125] r.6: [Marduk] zēr mārē(p1) Bābili(ki), lit. "seed of the sons of Babylon" = "of Babylonian race"⁽⁶¹⁾, or Assyrians (e.g. JCS 8 p.32 [Aššur 6366]⁽⁶²⁾ ii 9-11: (md)U t u -šī- (d)I š k u r a-bu a-bi-šu ša n u m u n a-hi-tim la u z u u r u (d) [A-šur], "Šamšī-Adad, his grandfather, of foreign race, not of Assyrian blood", lit. "flesh"⁽⁶³⁾. Characteristically, these notions of ethnic unity are centred on the cities of Babylon and Aššur.⁽⁶⁴⁾

zēru is only very rarely used in this last sense of individual private persons,⁽⁶⁵⁾ being used mainly of deities and kings as foci of the ideals of ethnic unity and continuity. For the later Assyrian kings the concept of Assyrian nationality was epitomised by the archaic term for the city of Aššur, BAL. TIL. KI (see above)⁽⁶⁶⁾. Both Šamšī-Adad V in the Babylonian King list A, and Sargon II in TCL 3 113 are described as "descendant of BAL.TIL.KI". Sargon's claim appears to be that his intelligence is the result of his Assyrian birth: n u m u n BAL.TIL. KI U r u ni-me-gi pi-it ha-sis-si, "descendant of BAL.TIL.KI, the city of wisdom, ready of understanding". There are indications that the later Assyrian kings at least considered themselves to be, in their priestly capacity, recipients of an esoteric, traditional "wisdom", comparable with that of other learned professions. An official reporting to Aššurbanipal recalls (ABL 923, obv. 7-9): (d)š á r ina m á š . g e 6 a-na a d . a d -šu ša l u g a l e n -ia a b g a l i q-ti-[ba-a] l u g a l e n l u g a l . m e š lib-bi-lib-bi ša a b g a l u A-da-pà [x] tu-ša-tir ni-me-gi A b z u ù gi-mir um-ma-nu, "Aššur spoke to the grandfather of the king, my lord, the sage, in a dream (saying): "King, lord of kings, descendant of the Sage(s) and Adapa, you have excelled in wisdom the Apsu and

every master". The clearly metaphorical use of libbi-libbi in this passage is evidence of the importance of the transmission of a traditional body of knowledge in scribal concepts of continuity and descent.⁽⁶⁷⁾ That this attitude was to some extent shared by at least the Sargonid kings is perhaps demonstrated by the efforts of certain of these kings to master the scribal lore themselves.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Conclusions

In Chs. V and VI a distinction has been made between references to previous kings as ancestors and genealogical references. This formal distinction corresponds to a distinction in emphasis in the attitudes of the kings themselves towards their ancestors in the two types of context.

Frequent reference to former kings was dictated by the custom of preserving building inscriptions, through which a written record of continuity in building was maintained. The application of the term "ancestor" to kings mentioned in this context has been shown to be fairly loose in Assyrian inscriptions. Kings who certainly were known to be ancestors were not described as such, and others who were collateral ascendants or belonged to a completely different dynasty might nevertheless be described as ancestors. Apparently it was not felt to be necessary to consult the King List in order to achieve accuracy on such a point.

It was therefore suggested that the tag, "my ancestor", expressed a sense of continuity of tradition, in particular the tradition of maintaining temples as links between the community and its national gods, which was particularly strong in Assyria, where the kings performed the function of high priest of Assur,^{uv} and where such references are far more common. The only reference to a former king as an "ancestor" in a

Babylonian building inscription is in fact the reference by Nebuchadrezzar to Naram-Sin.

By contrast, genealogical references are certainly meant to be taken literally and provide evidence of the importance attached to biogenetical descent. Evidence of an interest in the details of personal genealogy beyond a few generations is lacking in both Babylonia and Assyria, except among the kings of the West Semitic First Dynasty of Babylon (GHD) and in the genealogical traditions of the nomad ancestors of the Assyrian kings, incorporated in the Assyrian King List. These examples of genealogies built up out of oral traditions, linking the real or supposed ancestors of tribes and clans in a genealogical framework in which the individual could place himself, are typical of the lineage societies of pastoral nomads, and often persist after they have turned to a sedentary way of life. Similar, possibly even related, traditions no doubt remained current among the nomadic groups living on the periphery of Babylonia and Assyria; but in Mesopotamian culture they are a unique survival of the absorption of nomadic elements.

Complete genealogies occur only in Assyrian royal inscriptions, where they go back to a maximum of six generations, but most often to no more than two or three. It is not always clear why certain kings ~~go~~/take their genealogy only to their father or grandfather, others to the third or fourth generation or further. In the case of claims of descent from selected ancestors, with which "ego-centred" complete genealogies may be compared, the motive can generally be shown to be pride in descent from certain ancestors, by reason either of their achievements or of the legitimacy conferred by descent from them or their remoteness in time, or a mixture of these attributes. A stress on antiquity of lineage also occurs sporadically

in Babylonian royal inscriptions (zēr šarrūti dārū), but without reference to individual remote ancestors. (Such references are, in any case, common only among the Achaemenid kings.) In Assyria the fact of much longer continuity of descent, recorded in the King List, made specific claims of distant descent feasible. Such claims are most common among the Sargonids.

A desire to assert continuity of descent in the Assyrian royal succession is shown also in a tendency in the process of compilation of the King List to remodel the material on a pattern of father-son succession, so that, for instance, the kings who reigned between Adasi and Eriba-Adad I were all treated as sons of their predecessors, when in fact they were frequently brothers. Similarly, the incorporation of a genealogy into the King List as the second group of kings seems to have been an attempt to justify the claim to the throne of a particular dynasty by tracing its genealogy to the tent-dweller kings. These examples show the important part that genealogical descent played in the Assyrian concept of royal succession.

Notes

1. See R. Borger, EAK Ie.
2. Apparently a copy, made in Kültepe, of an Aššur text (EAK Ii).
3. IAK VII/3 (unfortunately inaccessible to the author). The other inscriptions of this group are ZA 43 p.115 (Z21) (Ilušuma) and KAH 1 1 1-12 (IAK VI/10) (Irišum).
4. See KAH 1 3 37; 4 31.
5. See H. Lewy CAH (2) I/XXV p.28.
6. EAK IIIIf; IVd. See Ch. V n.48 and Ch. II pp. 87f, for the evidence these inscriptions provide of fraternal succession during this period.
7. Unfortunately not accessible to the author.
8. See Ch. III p.n.110.
9. See P. 206 above for a building inscription of Puzur-Aššur III.
10. Not accessible to the author. See EAK VIe. The same type of genealogy recurs nearly 1000 years later in trilingual inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings Artaxerxes II and III. See texts published by Weissbach, VAB 3, pp.113-129, especially p.123. This recurrence suggests that the phenomenon may be related to a tribal background.
11. See Ch. V n.32.
12. Two copies of the Assyrian King List (the Khorsabad list and a tablet belonging to the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C. - known as the SDAS List) are published by I. J. Gelb, JNES 13/4 (1954) 209-230.
13. e.g. J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966) 95-118; A. Malamat, JAOS 88/1 (1968) 163-173; W. W. Hallo, JNES 15 (1956) P.221; J-R. Kupper, Nomades, pp.208-11; F. R. Kraus, Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 28, No. 2) (1965) 131-2.
14. Šamsi-Adad I was held in honour by later kings, at least from the reign of Šamsi-Adad II (late 16th century BC?). Three other kings, besides Šamsi-Adad II, bore the same name.
15. A letter of Šamsi-Adad's son, Iasmah-Adad, refers to Ila-kabkabu: pa-na-nu-um I-la-kab-ka-bu-ú ú Ia-gi-id-Li-im ni-iš

d i n g i r dan-na-am [i]-na bi-ri-ti-š^vu-nu iz-ku-ru ma
 (m)I-la-kab-ka-bu-ú a-na la-gi-id-Li-im [ú]-ul ú-qa-al-le-el
 [(m)la-gi]-id-Li-im-ma a-na I-la-kab-ka-bu-ú [ú-qa]-al-le-el,
 "Formerly Ilakabkabu and Yaggid-Lim swore a mighty oath together.
 Ilakabkabu was not disloyal to Yaggid-Lim - it was Yaggid-Lim
 who was disloyal to Ilakabkabu" (ARM I 3 8-14).

16. CAH (2) I/XXV p.20 (H. Lewy).

17. The fact that the names are clearly West Semitic is not evidence against this theory, as there is evidence to show close West Semitic affinities of the early Assyrian population. See H. Lewy loc. cit., p.42.

18. See n.52 below. On the relationship between the Šamš^vi-Adad dynasty and earlier and later Assyrian rulers see JCS 8 31ff for the inscription of Puzur-Sin, which appears to describe Šamš^vi-Adad as a usurper "not of Assyrian race". The inscription is quoted below p.239, see n.63. On the rather obscure figure of Puzur-Sin see Afo 17 298f; H. Lewy loc. cit. p.23. See also Afo 15 96f.

19. Khors. List i 21; SDAS List i 20.

20. So A. Poebel, JNES I p.271; I. J. Gelb, JNES 13, p.224.

21. So B. Landsberger, JCS 8, p.34 and n.21; H. Lewy, loc. cit. p.19.

22. W. W. Hallo, JNES 15 p.221 n.9, suggests that the first group of kings is also intended as a genealogy in reverse order, though no filiation is given for this group. Whether or not a fictive genealogy was based on these names they appear to be, in fact, names of ancestors of tribes (see below section 3).

23. See CAH (2) I/VI pp.24f.

24. R. Borger, Asarh. 6 L.4: d u m u (m . d .) XXX . [p a] b.
 m e š . s u XX š u XX (kur) Ašš^vur(ki) a (m)XX . g i n XX
 (kur)Ašš^vur-ma. Note the unusual use of different ideograms for "son" in the same inscription, read by Borger as distinct Akk. terms: d u m u = māru; a = aplu ("heir"). cf. the Adad-nirari inscription quoted below p.232.

25. (md)Ašš^vur-da-an.... [d u m u (m)T u k u l]-ti-i b i l a.
 é . š á r . r a [d u m u (md)Ašš^vur - s a g -i-si.....
 [d u m u (md)Ašš^vur- g]a l.

26. On līpu(m), liblibbu see Glossary.

27. $\sqrt{\text{banu}}$ "to create". The noun bānu "creator, begetter" is often used of the fathers of kings, e.g. R. Borger, Asarh. 40 10 and passim in Esarhaddon's inscriptions. In PEA Pl. 17 v, 39, Assurbanipal refers to Sargon as a d a d a d d u (bānu) -ia "my own great-grandfather".

28. KAH 2 134: 1-8: (md)XXX . l u g a l . g a r -un d u m u (m)Assur . d u . a d u m u (m)Assur . p a b . a s d u m u (md)XXX . p a b . m e s . s u s a . b a l . b a l (m)L u g a l . g i . n a ; KAH 2 129 has the same genealogy, but maru is written a instead of d u m u . The inscription is fragmentary.

29. The Nassouhi List has 13 m u . m e s .

30. Assur 13058 ds (Photo Assur 3354) (md)Nin-urta - i b i l a . E . k u r l u g a l (kur.d)A-sur d u m u s u . (d)I s k u r l u g a l (kur.d)A-su[r] (Gift of jewelry to daughter). Note that mar FN, "descendant of FN", is rare in royal contexts though frequent in non royal. See Ch. VII passim.

31. cf. n.24 above.

32. See above pp. 227f. Possibly AN -kabkabu is to be read as Enlil-kabkabu. Otherwise one must assume a scribal error in the Adad-nirari III inscription. On the name see J. Lewy RA 31 (1934) 170.

33. The first according to J. Lewy, HUCA 19 (1946) 468 n 306; the second according to R. Borger EAK IIb (p.12): "eines Vorgängers aus der Urzeit des von Sulili (begründeten) König-tums".

34. If Sulili is correctly placed in the king list as the first of the third group of native Assyrian kings preceding the usurpation by Samsi-Adad, he would of course precede in time Ila-kabkabu, the father of Samsi-Adad. If, however, as held by W. W. Hallo (JNES 15 p.221 n.9), the King List is correct in describing Sulili as son of Aminu, he may be incorrectly placed. Hallo would move the line [(m)]Su-li-li d u m u (m)A-mi-ni to the beginning of the "Samsi-Adad genealogy", i.e. before (m)A-mi-nu d u m u (m)AN -kab-ka-bi therefore following Aminu in chronological order. An Assyrian e n s i k Si-lu-lu is attested in a seal of OB style discussed by W. Nagel, AfO 18 (1957) 97-103. Nagel would identify this ruler with Sulili, whom he considers to have been a son of Aminu and a nephew of

^vSamsi-Adad (who according to his theory was a younger brother of Aminu), the nominal ruler of Assyria during the latter's effective rule (loc. cit. p.101). Note, however, that H. Lewy (CAH I/XXV p.20) distinguishes Ila-kabkabu, the father of ^vSamsi-Adad, from the Ila-kabkabu of the King List, whom she considers to have been an ancestor of the Assyrian dynasty which preceded ^vSamsi-Adad on the throne. Adad-nirari's inscription cannot be taken as proof that Sulili was later than Ila-kabkabu, as he may well have used the King List as his source.

35. durgu is used in this sense only in these genealogies. Its more common meaning is "remote (mountain) region". See CAD Vol. 3 p.191.

36. So CAD Vol. 16 p.218a (3b). sītu✓(w)asu(m)✓("to go out") as a poetic term for "offspring, product" is often used in genealogies at the later period, cf. si-it T i n . t i r . k i , below p.238, and PEA Pl. 14 i 4; AS 5 B i 3 (both Assurbanipal): Nbp. Cyl. (ZA NF 4 pl.67) 125; Nbn 380.6 (non-royal) (all sīt libbi "own offspring"). Note also PEA Pl. 17 v 38-42 (Assurbanipal): ša L u g a l . g i . n a a d . a d . a d d ū - i a š ā . b a l . b a l (m)E[n]-ba-ni d u m u (m)A-da-si ša du-ru-ug-šu BAL.TIL.KI e-pu-šu "which Sargon, my great-grandfather, descendant of Belu-bani, son of Adasi, whose origin was BAL. TIL.KI built".

37. In this context dannu(m) "strong" probably has connotations of legitimacy. dannu(m) is never used with maru(m) in royal genealogies, but only with aplu(m) "heir". Note also the use of dannu(m) with sarru(m) in royal inscriptions, and the other examples of dannu(m) = "legitimate, valid, authorized" (of officials, documents, etc.) listed in CAD, Vol. 3 pp.94-95 (2).

38. The same writing occurs in a Hittite treaty (Akk. version). PDK 9 L.2: š ā . b a l ša Hattušili.

39. A copy from Assurbanipal's library of an inscription of the early Kassite king Agum-kakrime has (VR 33 i 1; 13-15; 17-19; 22) A-gu-um-ka-ak-ri-me.... d u m u Ur-si-gu-ru-mas li-ip-li-ri-bu⁷ ^vsa A-bi-r[lu-ut-tas] d u m u Kaš-[til-ia]-^všu i b i l a reš-tu ^vsa A-gu-um ra-bi-i... d u m u Gan-di (reconstruction following B. Landsberger, JCS 8 p.44), "Agumkakrime, son of Uršigurumas, descendant of Abiruttas, son of Kaštilias, first-born heir of Agum the Great, son ("descendant") of Gandu (= Gandas)" Note that B. Landsberger considers this inscription to be apocryphal (see JCS 8 pp.67-8; MAOG 4 p.312 - no discussion). E. Weidner disagrees (Afo 19 p.138). See also Ch. VII n.97.

40. So A. Foebel, JNES 1 pp.467-8.

41. In fact a system of collateral succession appears to have been in operation during part of this period, as discussed in Ch. II 2:2:3

42. Note the application of genealogical models in the epithets of a god in a hymn to Šamaš, published BA 10 1 LL.2 & 6:

d u m u (d)A-nim ... līb-līb-bi ša (d)XXX u (d)Nin-[gal] (Sum.
d'u m u A n . n a . [g e₄].... p e š . d u m u . z i EN.ZU .
n a (d)N i n . [g a l]), "son of Anu, descendant of Sin and Ningal".

43. pp.187f.

44. Published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966) 95-118. See also A. Malamat, JAOS 88/1 (1968) 163-173; see also W. G. Lambert, JCS 22/1 (1968) 1-2 (for an alternative view to that of Finkelstein, but on an aspect not covered by this thesis).

45. Quoted above, p.227. See also n.12.

46. For the tribal traditions of the Hanu, see the reference to the eponymous ancestors: 7 l u g a l . m e š ab-bu-u
Ha-nu, "seven kings, ancestors of Hana", RA 33 54 I 15f, cf. 49 5.

47. See, e.g., E. E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer (1940) p.195. In such genealogies lineages commonly become contracted, so that only the names of men who founded new lineage segments are preserved and the intervening ancestors are forgotten.

48. See J. M. Munn-Rankin, Iraq 18 (1956) 68-110 on OB diplomacy.

49. Two kings of Uruk are called kings of Amnānu (see A. Falkenstein, Baghdader Mitteilungen 2 [1963] pp.22ff), and an obscure context in a letter from a king of Uruk appears to refer to a special connection between Uruk and the Amnānu. (Ibid, pp.58, 62,70: col. iii L.40).

50. Generally taken to be genuine kings of Assyria. Ušpia was credited by later kings with being the first builder of the temple of Aššur (see above pp.208f). These two kings are also listed at the end of tent-dweller section.

51. See H. Lewy, CAH (2) I/XXV pp.42f.

52. Whether of a native Assyrian dynasty to demonstrate its legitimacy in the aftermath of the Šamši-Adad interlude (so Lewy op. cit., p.20) or as an effort to legitimise the rule of Šamši-Adad and his successors by linking them to the native Assyrian

tradition (see above p.202-3 and n.18).

53. The Kassite rulers respected Babylonian traditions and assimilated Babylonian culture, but this attitude would hardly have extended to the dynastic traditions of the kings whom they had superseded.

54. See pp. 232 f. above. Other phrases are used by Tukulti-Ninurta I, KAH 1 16 11; Shalmaneser I, 13 r. iii 29.

55. The fiction of divine filiation of kings is not restricted to Kassite rulers, though it is particularly in evidence in their inscriptions. See R. Labat, Royaume, Ch. 3.

56. p. 230 and n. 27.

57. ellu(m) is occasionally used in the same sense of citizens in Babylonian contexts. See Ch. VII P. 267 and n. 100.

58. Elative of (w) agru(m) "precious".

59. For a reference to an eponymous ancestor of a king, see AfO 20 94: 101-102: (md) Nabū-šuma-iškun [mā]r (md) Marduk-apla-iddina(-na) li-ip-li-pi ša Ia-kin⁷. N. and his father were chieftains of the Chaldaean tribe of Bit-Yakin, and as the reference is made by his enemy, Sennacherib, there is no element of pride in lineage in the description. M. chose to describe himself rather as ilitti Eriba-Marduk "descendant of Eriba-Marduk", through whom he claimed the right to the Babylonian throne.

References to antiquity of descent are particularly frequent among the Achaemenid kings, e.g. Cyrus, VR 35 L. 22: n u m u n da-ru-ú ša l u g a l -ú-tu ša (d) E n u (d) N à i-ra-mu pa-la-a-šu. Among these kings the concept of lineage is more developed and given more importance, e.g. VAB 3 4:3: VIII ina libbi zer-ia at-tu-u-a ina pa-na-tu-u-a šarrūtu(-tu) i-te-ep-šu [.....] "eight of my own line have exercised kingship before me...." (Rest broken; the Elamite and O. Persian versions here continue: "I am the ninth, we are nine in two series of kings") (Darius). In a number of inscriptions Darius claims descent from Achaemenes, e.g. 33.61; 24:43 (zēru ša (m) U-ma-ku-is-tar). Note also 3.3 [ul-tu] abbutu [(-tū) mārē(pl)] banē(pl) a-ni-ni ul-tu abbutu (-tū) zēr-ú-ni šarrāni(pl) šu-nu "Since the ancestors, we have been nobly born; since the ancestors, our line has been one of kings".

60. The phrase appears to refer to the daughters of Kadashman-Harbe, who are mentioned in the preceding line: d u m u .SAL . m e š -ú-a i-ba-aš-ša-a, "there are my daughters". The context

appears to relate to a request by Amenophis that the Babylonian king take some of his daughters in marriage (LL.6-7): aš-šum š e š -ia a-[na ia-ši] iš-pu-ra um-ma-a [.....] am-mi-ni la ta-ab-ha-az, "Concerning what my brother has written to me, saying, [.....] "Why do you not take (in marriage)?"

61. The extension of zēru to ethnic links seems to be analogous to the use of maru(m) "son" in the sense of "citizen". See Glossary.

62. WVD OG 46.

63. i 12-13 reads: [ša za-r] a a-hi-tim la šī-ir [(u r u d)] A-šur, "of foreign race, not of Assyrian blood". šīru(m) "flesh", is very rare in this sense. The other examples are OB: a . i (MSL I) III iii 23-24: n u . n u . n e - šī-ir-šu, n u . s a . n e = da-mu-šu, "of his (own) flesh, of his (own) blood" (Re foster-child, cf. L.25 n u . b a r . b a r . r a = li-piš-tu a-hi-tu "of alien origin"); JCS 8 (1954) p.32, n.7 (unpub. letter, Ishchali 31-T-299:4): anāku abuka šī-ir-kà u da-mu-kà "I am your brother, your own flesh and blood".

64. But cf. JCS 11 p.85, 15-16 ("Cuthaeen Legend" of Naram-Sin): pa-ag-ri u ra-ma-ni lu-še-si a-na hu-ul-lu-uq zē-ri Ak-ka-di-i "Shall I personally set out to destroy the race of Akkad?".

65. The usual idiom is mar GN or GN -aya for citizenship, GN -aya for race.

66. See Ch. V n.40; also J. Lewy, HUCA 19 (1946) 467ff, especially n.305; 32 (1961) 31ff; D. Oates, Studies in The Ancient History of Northern Iraq (1968) p.25.

67. Discussed more fully in Ch. VII section 4.

68. cf. the claims of Aššurbanipal, Lehmann, Šsmk Pl. XXIV (Streck VAB 7 pp. XLI and 226ff) e.g. i 13-15: [ši] pir ap-kal-li A-da-pà a-hu-uz ni-sir-tú ka-tim-tú kul-lat tup-šar-ru-te ina é⁷. m e š a n -e u k i -tim am(!)-ra-ku šu-ta-da-na-ku ina u k k i n um-ma-a-ni šu-ta(?) -bu-la-ku e š . p a r - ma ad(?) - kur (?) a n -e it-ti n u n . i . m e š li-'-u-ti, "I learned the craft of the Sage Adapa (and) the veiled mystery of all the scribal art; I have looked at the domiciles of heaven and earth, and have been consulted in the assembly of the experts. I have discussed oracles and have observed (?) the heavens with the learned masters of oil-divination". Note also the reference to records from "before the flood" (ša la-am a-bu-bi) in L.18. See Ch VII n 101, n. 105.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Personal Genealogy and the Concept of Lineage - Non-royal1. Genealogies

The fullest genealogy of a person of non-royal status recorded in an Akkadian document is that of Marduk-zakir-šumi, a high official,⁽¹⁾ recipient of a grant of land from the Babylonian king, Marduk-apla-iddina I (1173-1161). In col. i L.32 - col. ii L.3 of BBS 5, the boundary stone bearing the record of the transaction, Marduk-zakir-šumi is described as: d u m u (md)N a -na-din- š e š . m e š š a a-bi-a-bi-š u (m)Ri-me-ni - (d)A m a r . u d li-pu ri-bu-u š a (m)U-bal-lit-su -(d)A m a r . u d š a . b a l . b a l (md)A r a d -(d)E-a, "Son of Nabu-nadin-abbe, his grandfather being Rimeni-Marduk, great-grandson (lit. "fourth offspring") of Uballitsu-Marduk, descendant of Arad-Ea".

It is not clear from the phraseology of this genealogy how many generations were supposed to have intervened between Uballitsu-Marduk and Arad-Ea, as the term līplīpu/liblibbu may be used of any degree of descent from two generations (grandson) downwards.⁽²⁾ A number of MB and NB officials claim descent from Arad-Ea (these are discussed below), the earliest examples being from the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina's father, Melišipak.⁽³⁾ There is no evidence as to how long before the reign of Melišipak the activity of Arad-Ea is to be dated.

This is the only known complete genealogy of a person other than a king extending as far back as the great-grandfather, if līpu ribū[^] is so to be understood. The terminology is unique for any genealogy, royal or non-royal. None of the genealogies of kings discussed in the previous chapter has the expression

ša abi-abi-šu PN or līpu ribū ša PN, nor is there evidence of the use of expressions exactly analagous to līpu ribū (as *līpu hamsu, *līpu šeššu, etc.), but, since a comparable term, abi abiya hamsu, "fifth grandfather", is used by the OB king, Samsuiluna, (VS I 33 iii 9)⁽⁴⁾, it is possible that such terms for known ascendants and descendants⁽⁵⁾ may have been in use in ordinary speech, even though the need to write them arose rarely. The apparently rather awkward change of subject between ša abi-abisu and līpu ribū ša may possibly point to a lack of a standard formula for detailed genealogical statements, which is in accordance with the lack of evidence of full genealogies for Babylonian kings⁽⁶⁾ (as compared with Assyrian). It may be suggested with some probability that the grandfather and great-grandfather of Marduk-zakir-šumi were mentioned because they were men of prominence. It is noteworthy that more genealogical information is given for Marduk-zakir-šumi than for king Marduk-apla-iddina himself, who is described in the same inscription merely as [d u m u Me]-li-šī-pak š a . b a l . b a l Ku-ri-gal-zu (LL.23,25).

In all other Akkadian documents, continuous genealogy of commoners never proceeds beyond the grandfather; such references are hardly to be treated as genealogies at all, as they do not attest to the transmission of memory of ancestors. The use of the father's name besides the personal name is the most common means of precise identification of both men and women⁽⁷⁾ in legal and administrative documents from the OAk period onwards. Frequently in MA documents,⁽⁸⁾ less frequently in those of other periods,⁽⁹⁾ the grandfather's name is given in addition to the father's name in the formula: PN mār PN₂ mār PN₃.

The addition of the grandfather's name in certain documents may have been affected by individual circumstances, such as the fact that the father was still alive (or recently deceased, as in the settlement of inheritance) so that it might be respectful to supply his patronymic also, or that the family were of high status.⁽¹⁰⁾

2. Ancestral names

Most of the references to non-royal ancestors in Akkadian texts take the form of claims of descent from isolated ancestors, added to the personal name (and often patronymic) of the individual. The use of ancestral names added to the names of the citizens is almost entirely restricted to Babylonia. By the sixth century BC ancestral names were in widespread use among freeborn Babylonian citizens, male and female, and had become family names, part of the ordinary means of identification of the individual, regardless of whether anything more was known about the ancestor than his name.

2:1 Ancestral names in the MB and early NB periods

2:1:1 Ancestors of Tribes and Clans

The evidence for the existence of corporate land-holding lineage groups in the eastern provinces of Kassite Babylonia has been discussed in Ch. I section 3. These lineage groups and the territory occupied by them were called Bīt-N, "House (= family, clan, tribe or estate) of N", N being in most, if not all, cases ⁽¹¹⁾ the name of the ancestor or supposed ancestor of the tribe. It is therefore probable that, when in the MB and early NB documents an individual is described as mār PN, PN being the name of one of these lineage ancestors, he is describing himself as a descendant of this ancestor and hence as a member of his tribe or clan. ⁽¹²⁾ In BBS 6, for example Ritti-Marduk, a vassal of king Nebuchadrezzar I (1124-1103), described elsewhere in the text as bēl bīti sa bīt (m)Karziabku, "chief of the tribe of Karziabku" (e.g. i 35,45), is described in ii 8 as d u m u (m)Kar-zi-ab-ku. Another mār (m)Karziabku, named Zerukin, is mentioned in BBS 9 ⁽¹³⁾ (200 years later) as having some kind of a claim (possibly as a creditor) on another estate (Bīt-(m)Atrattas), part of which was alienated from its

owners by the transactions recorded in the document. It is not known whether he was the then head of the Karziabku tribe or another member of it, nor whether he was acting in these transactions on behalf of the tribe or independently.

It is probable also that the men described as d u m u . m e s (m)At-rat-tas^v, active in the transactions of BBS 9, were members of an Atrattas^v lineage rather than sons of a man named Atrattas^v. This assumption is supported by the description of Mar-biti-suma-ibni in i 19 as d u m u -su sa (m)A r a d - (d)VII d u m u (m)At-rat-tas^v, the same formula that was commonly used in the LB period meaning "son of PN, descendant of PN₂ (family name)⁽¹⁴⁾.

In BBS 6 ii 23 (md)En-lil -s u m . m u d u m u (m)Hab-ban is named as a witness and further described as sa-kin (kur)Na-mar, "governor of Namar" (the administrative district in which the territory exempted by the king was situated. It is probable that Habban is here an ⁿancestral name of the family in which the that Habban^v is here an ^{'15}ancestral name of the family in which office of saknu of Namar was hereditary⁽¹⁵⁾ and subject to royal of the grant: d u m u . m e s (m)Hab-ban lu-u ma-am-ma sa-nu-um-ma sa a-na sa-kin-u-te sa (kur)Na-mar is-sak-ki-nu lu-u ki-pu-ut (kur)Na-mar t a si-hir ra-bi ma-la ba-su-u, "any of the sons of Habban, or anyone else who may be installed as governor of Namar, or anyone in the administration of Namar, small or great, however many they may be". That Habban was a tribal ancestor is confirmed by a reference to Bit (m)Hab-ba-an in ii 50. Two "sons" of Habban are also known from 9th century documents.⁽¹⁶⁾

A mar (d u m u) -(m)Ha-an-bi ((m)Amel-(d)Enlil), owner of land in Bit-(m)Ha-an-bi⁽¹⁷⁾, is mentioned in BBS 7 i 11.⁽¹⁸⁾ Tribal territory seems to be involved here, as LL.31-34 refer to officials sa il-lam-ma i-na e-li Bit (m)Ha-an-bi is-sak-ka-nu-ma

"who may be placed in charge of Bit-Janbi (in future)". It is interesting that Janbu and Janbi were family names in the LB period.⁽¹⁹⁾ Other references in MB and early NB boundary stones to mar PN, describing parties and witnesses to the transactions may be ancestral names in some cases, but conclusive evidence is lacking. It is noteworthy that contrary to the practice in MA, NA and LB contracts, the names of high officials are generally accompanied by the name of their father/ancestor as well as their office when listed as witnesses on boundary stones.

Members of Chaldaean tribes are described in the same way in NA sources. The reference in an inscription of Sennacherib to Nabu-suma-iškun, Chaldaean chieftain of Bit-Yakin, as liplipi sa (m)Yakin has been mentioned in Ch. VI.⁽²⁰⁾ A Nabu-uṣallim, described as d u m u (m)Da-ku-ru, i.e. a member of the Chaldaean tribe of Bit-Dakuri is listed in BBS 10⁽²¹⁾ as a witness to a claim to estates within the tribal territory, at that period⁽²²⁾ controlled by Assyria. The Synchronistic King List⁽²³⁾ describes Muṣezib-Marduk, one of the ephemeral rulers of Babylonia during its five years of independence during the reign of Sennacherib, as d u m u (m)D[a-k]u-ri.⁽²⁴⁾ The prism of Nebuchadrezzar II (604-562)⁽²⁵⁾, listing the names of administrative officials with their offices mentions Bibbea, d u m u (m)Da-ku-ru and Beli-darum, d u m u (m)A-mu-ka-nim. As no further information is given about the functions of these two officials we must infer that mar -(m)Dakuri and mar -(m)Amukani designated the chiefs of the tribal territories of Bit-Dakuri and Bit-Amukani, subject to the control of the Babylonian king, as in the case of the governors of Namar discussed above. A NB examples of family names formulated in a way which suggests affiliation to descent groups (qinni sa bit PN) occurs in ABL 877, which is discussed in section 3 below, p.260.

2:1:2 Other MB Ancestors

References to ancestors are rare in the MB period outside tribal contexts. By far the largest number of references are to descendants of Arad-Ea. In two further cases besides the reference in BBS 5, quoted in 1, the person named is described as lTiplīpu (m)Arad-Ea (^vš ā . b a l . b a l (m)A r a d -(d)E-a), MDP 6 p.48:2-4 (Naširi, son of Kidin-Gula); NBS iii 13-14 (Nabu-zera-lišir, son of Itti-Marduk-Balaṭu). Otherwise the formula is always mar A r a d -E-a, but it is highly probable that all the twenty-one or more⁽²⁶⁾ "sons" of Arad-Ea, attested between the twelfth century and the ninth were descendants of the same ancestor as in these documents. The name Arad-Ea occurs as a LB family name in the form Ardi-Ea⁽²⁷⁾ (e.g. Nbn 340) and in the Name-Book from Assurbanipal's library (VR 44⁽²⁸⁾, L.15: (m)L a . b a r (d)N u . d ī m . m u d = (m)A r a d -(d)E-a. A number of the names in this list can be identified as those of ancestors of scribal families from colophons, LB business documents, or the Catalogue of Authors (Sm. 669⁽²⁹⁾). All the descendants of Arad-Ea for whom a profession is given are high administrative officials, scribes, or temple functionaries.⁽³⁰⁾ The activity of Arad-Ea himself is not attested, possibly through an accident of discovery, and Arad-Ea never occurs as a PN except as an ancestor.⁽³¹⁾ It is possible that he was honoured by his descendants not as an official but as a well-known author, whose name was transmitted by the literary tradition.

Three other isolated examples occur of references to ancestors. In BBS 28 an ērib bīti⁽³²⁾ priest is described as: d u m u (m)At-na-a-a (^vš ā . b a [l . (b a l ?)] (m)A-qar -(d)N ā "son of Atna, descendant of Aqar-Nabu". BBS 36 iii 28-29 refers to Nabu-nadin-šumi, a priest of Sippar and diviner: ina n u m u n (m)E-kur . m u . t u k -ši s a n g a (u r u) Sip-par L ū . h a l, "belonging to the line of Ekur-šuma-ušabšī, priest of

Sippar, diviner", appointed in connection with the re-endowment of the Šamaš temple at Sippar by Nabu-apla-iddina, because he was a descendant of this ancestor who was appointed priest of the temple by Eulmaš-šakin-šumi when he endowed it some 200 years before. Finally, in the kudurru TM 67953 (published by Stephanie Page, Sumer 23 [1967] 63-4) the recipient of a grant of land from king Marduk-apla-iddina is described (i 9-12) as (m)Uz-bi-(d)En-lil d u m u L ú . (d)A m a r . u d š a . b a l . b a l (m)Na-zi-(d)A m a r . u d, "Uzbi-Enlil, son of Amel-Marduk, descendant of Nazi-Marduk". His official function is not specified but he is described as a servant (a r a d -su) of the king (i 13).

2:2 Assyrian Ancestral Names

In the MA period there is no clear evidence of ancestral names but it is possible that at least some "grandfather's names" may be ancestral names (see p.251 above). It is possible, though it cannot be proved, that Uššur-ana-Marduk, the "grandfather" of Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe according to his inscription, AKA 388ff. (see Ch. 3 section 1132, p. 136) was in fact the ancestor of a scribal family, his name being identical with that of the father of the author of a glassmaking text published by C. J. Gadd, Iraq 3 (1936) 87ff. (BM 120960), dated in the reign of Gulkīšar of the Sealand Dynasty (16th century BC?). Uššur-ana-Marduk is described (L.40) as s a n g a Marduk l ú . NUN.KI "a priest of Marduk, a sage".

Clear evidence of reference to ancestors by people of non-royal status in Assyria is restricted to the descendants of Gabbi-ilani-ereš, who was, according to the Synchronistic King List,⁽³³⁾ the ummanu at the court of Tukulti-Ninurta II and Assur-naširpal II (9th century). The term ummanu (Sum. u m . m i . a) means a master or expert of any craft,⁽³⁴⁾ and when applied to the

scribal craft carried great prestige, even being an epithet of Adapa and the other antediluvian sages.⁽³⁵⁾ When used of an official at the NA court the term had, however, a more restricted meaning, apparently designating a very high official. The importance of the ummānu as a state official is shown, in the view of O. Schroeder,⁽³⁶⁾ by the fact that the Synchronistic King List lists two ummānu for the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, who ruled both Assyria and Babylonia. Nabu-zuqup-kenā,⁽³⁷⁾ an important scribe in the reigns of Sargon and Sennacherib describes himself in a number of colophons of texts copied by him⁽³⁸⁾ as: d u m u (md)A m a r . u d . m u . b a - šā l ū . d u b . š a r š ā . b a l . b a l (m)Gab-bi- d i n g i r m e š . k a m -eš l ū . g a l d u b . š a r . m e š (uru)Kal- ha "Son of Marduk-šuma-iqiša, scribe, descendant of Gabbi-ilani-eres, chief scribe of Kalhū.⁽³⁹⁾ Another descendant of Gabbi-ilani-eres is known from Sargon's reign from the colophon of a literary text: (md)Nin-urta-ū-bal-lit-su l ū . a . b a š ā . b a l . b a l (m)Gab-bi- d i n g i r . m e š -ni- k a m -eš l ū [x x] m e š , "Ninurta-uballitsū, scribe, descendant of Gabbi-ilani-eres [?]" (BWL p.220 r. iv 30-33). The ummānu of Sargon's reign belonged to a different family. He is known as the author of the account of Sargon's eighth campaign (714): (md)N ā -šal-lim-šu-nu (lū)tuṣ-sar šar-ri g a l - ū l ū . g a l . n a m (lū)ūm-ma-an (m)L u g a l . g i . n a l u g a l (kur)Aššur bu-uk-ri (m)Har-ma-ak-ki (lū)tuṣ-sar l u g a l BAL.TIL.KI-ū "Nabu-šallimšunu, chief royal scribe, chief administrator, ummānu of Sargon, king of Aššur, son of Harmakki, royal scribe of Aššur." The use of the hymnic-epic term for "son", bukru,⁽⁴⁰⁾ in this colophon is an example of scribal ornamentation. It could be interpreted as "descendant", and possibly Nabu-šallimšunu intended to convey this by the title "royal scribe of BAL.TIL.KI", the ancient name of the city of

Assur, but his motive in this may be connected with the propaganda purposes of the account as a whole.⁽⁴¹⁾ The NA ummanu-official seems from these references to have been holder of the highest scribal office, perhaps with some of the functions of a secretary of state. That it was a very prestigious post is shown by the fact that those scribes who were descendants of the ummanu Gabbi-ilani-eres^v claimed descent from him in their colophons. There is no evidence that Gabbi-ilani-eres^v was originally of Babylonian descent, though this is possible.⁽⁴²⁾ If Gabbi-ilani-eres^v was of Assyrian family, these texts are an indication that illustrious ancestors were remembered in families of scribes in Assyria and Babylonia. There is no evidence of this type of manifestation of consciousness of ancestry among other important Assyrians, such as those mentioned in legal documents as owners of estates or as beneficiaries of royal grants. Such consciousness of ancestry may have existed in fact in other families, but the scribes were in a unique position to place their claims of ancestry on record in the colophons of literary texts. The fact that the family of Gabbi-ilani-eres^v, though continuing to hold important scribal posts, did not monopolise the post of ummanu⁽⁴³⁾ is an indication that official positions, as distinct from occupational skills, were not necessarily hereditary. In Assyrian society continuity of status in a certain family, in the palace hierarchy at least, appears to have been dependent on personal qualities and royal favour.⁽⁴⁴⁾

3. The Development of Family Names⁽⁴⁵⁾

The widespread use of family names⁽⁴⁶⁾ first becomes noticeable in the sector of the population represented in business documents in late 7th century Babylonia,⁽⁴⁷⁾ and is typical of Babylonian society of the final historical phase of distinctly Babylonian culture, the Late Babylonian, Achaemenid and

Seleucid periods, which show a profound qualitative change in economic and social structure from the earlier period⁽⁴⁸⁾ and are therefore outside the scope of this thesis.

There is, however, evidence to show that at least some of the ancestors whose names became family names were men who lived at an earlier period, perhaps even during the last centuries of the second millennium B.C.

Weisberg has pointed out⁽⁴⁹⁾ that the form Lu-uš-tam-mar-(d)I š k u r in YBC 3429 14⁽⁵⁰⁾ of the family name Lultammar-Adad, appears to be a survival of an earlier period before the phonetic change st > lt had become universal in Babylonian dialects,⁽⁵¹⁾ and that the family name Kuri is a Kassite word meaning "shepherd".⁽⁵²⁾

A piece of negative evidence, adduced by Ungnad,⁽⁵³⁾ is the fact that certain names occur as personal names in ninth century documents which occur later only as family names, e.g. Sumu-libši, Hunzu'i; but this may be an accident of discovery.

Before 624 BC (with the exception of BBS 9 i 19)⁽⁵⁴⁾ the typical LB name formula PN māršu ša PN₂ mār PN₃ does not occur, but it is possible that mār PN sometimes means "descendant of PN" in other cases besides the references to tribal ancestors and to Arad-Ea discussed in 2:1:1 and 2:1:2, particularly when the names are identical with later family names. Thus, while in VS I 57 iv 11-12 (Marduk-apla-iddina II) (m)Ku-ku-ru a (m)E-gi-bi may be literally the son of the Egibi whose name became the family name of a prominent Babylonian family,⁽⁵⁵⁾ it seems likely that Nabu-nadin-aḫi a (m)E-gi-bi,⁽⁵⁶⁾ who was a šakin tēni⁽⁵⁷⁾ under Kandalanu, three generations later, was already describing himself as a descendant of Egibi, a member of the Egibi family. Egibi or A k u . b a . t i l a is not attested as a personal name.

There is some evidence also from NA sources of the use of certain ancestral names already in the early seventh century BC. The Synchronistic King List⁽⁵⁸⁾ records the short reign of a Nergal-u^vsezib d u m u (m)Ga-b^vul for part of the period of Babylonian independence before the reconquest by Sennacherib.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The names Gah^val and Gah^vul⁽⁶⁰⁾ are common as family names in the LB period. The parallel with d u m u (m)Da-k^vu-ri in the next line (see above p. 254⁺) suggests that this may be an ancestral name as used in the Synchronistic King List.

Both Egibi and Gah^val occur in ABL 877, a NB letter of uncertain date,⁽⁶¹⁾ in a context which suggests that they were seen as ancestors of descent groups. In this letter five men are listed with the names of their fathers^{and} grandfathers (or ancestors?), followed by the unique genealogical formula: gin-ni ^vša é PN, in which ginnu appears to bear its meaning of "lineage segment", sub-group of a tribe" normally attested only with reference to tribal nomads.⁽⁶²⁾ The use of such terminology in ABL 877 suggests some corporate functions of a group of descendants of a common ancestor among Babylonian town-dwellers. That we are dealing here with town-dwellers is reasonably clear from the references to the "family house" (é a d -^vsu)⁽⁶³⁾ of each man listed and by the designation of one man as son of a mašmaš^vu and of another as a kalū, both traditional Babylonian professions requiring considerable expertise.⁽⁶⁴⁾

A reference in ABL 282 to a descendant of Gah^val as related in the female line to the Elamite royal family⁽⁶⁵⁾ suggests this family may have originated among the semi-independent clans of Southern Babylonia. Note also the reference in ABL 878 to a d u m u (m)G a -hal^v as involved in hostilities with the pro-Assyrian Babylonians.

Another possible family name occurs in an inscription of Sennacherib (OIP 2 57 14 = Layard ICC p.63: (md)E n . d ū d u m u (lú)g a l . d ū pi-ir-i' Šu-an-na(ki)

Rabi-bani was the name of one of the prominent Late Babylonian families;⁽⁶⁷⁾ mār (lú)rābi-banī, like mār-banī, rābi-banī in LB texts and rās-banī, (lú)banū⁽⁶⁸⁾ in MB texts, means "of good birth, a freeborn citizen"⁽⁶⁹⁾. Sennacherib was in this passage claiming the eligibility of his nominee to the Babylonian throne,⁽⁷⁰⁾ as the phrase piri' Šuanna, "scion of Šuanna (Babylon)", shows, so to state that he was a mār-rābi-banī, a freeborn citizen, of good Babylonian stock, would serve this end. It is, however, possible that Rabi-bani was Bel-ibni's family name, especially in view of the designation by the Synchronistic King List of Nergal-usezib, and Mušezib-Marduk who ruled a few years later, as mār Gaḥul and mār Dakuri respectively.⁽⁷¹⁾

Many common LB family names are occupational, e.g. Nappāḫū,⁽⁷²⁾ "Smith", Kuṭemmu,⁽⁷³⁾ "Goldsmith", Išparū,⁽⁷⁴⁾ "Weaver", Ašlaku,⁽⁷⁵⁾ "Washer", Itinnu,⁽⁷⁶⁾ "Mason", Re'u,⁽⁷⁷⁾ "Herdsman", Re'u-alpi,⁽⁷⁸⁾ "Oxherd", Asū,⁽⁷⁹⁾ "Physician", Bā'irū,⁽⁸⁰⁾ "Fisher", etc.

These are all still basically ancestral names, their bearers being designated PN mār Pr(ofessional) N(ame). The family would be designated bīt PrN, occasionally bīt mār PrN (e.g. VS 5 41.19: i m . r i . a i m . r i . a u i m . r i . a ša é d u m u . l ú . š i t i m = kimtū nišūtū u salātu ša bīt mār Itinni, "kin, family and relatives of the Mason family). This usage is derived from the use of bīt PN in earlier Babylonian legal documents.⁽⁸¹⁾ It is not possible to state with certainty that occupational family names were either derived from ancestors whose personal names they were (arising out of their occupation) or that they rather originally signified membership of a family in which that occupation was hereditary. At all periods indications of occupation were sometimes added to personal names as an additional means of identification,⁽⁸²⁾

as are indications of geographical origin.⁽⁸³⁾ Less common in earlier texts are examples of persons designated PN mār PrN⁽⁸⁴⁾ or simply mār PrN⁽⁸⁵⁾ in place of a personal name. The circumstances behind this type of designation are not clear, but it is not necessary to postulate that the father's personal name had in all, or even most cases, been replaced during his lifetime by an occupational name. Occupational personal names do occur but they are rare.⁽⁸⁶⁾ A possible factor could be that in some cases where a man is described as mār PrN his father was still alive and was commonly identified by his occupation, though retaining his given name. It is also necessary to consider the possibility that mār PrN was equivalent to PrN, signifying a member of a profession.⁽⁸⁷⁾ According to Mendelsohn (JAOS 60 [1940] 68-72), mār PrN in LB documents means "member of the guild of" a certain profession. Weisberg's arguments⁽⁸⁸⁾ against this interpretation are conclusive: that mār PrN is not used in LB texts in designating actual occupation, where this meaning is certain, e.g. in the Craftsmen's Charter (YBC 3499)⁽⁸⁹⁾; that the determinatives (m) for personal names and (lu) for categories of persons are used indiscriminately in the phrase mār PrN in LB texts, and that examples occur of men with different occupations from those to whose guilds they would belong according to Mendelsohn's theory. It is clear, therefore, that, as Ungnad had already realised (AnOr 12 [1935] 319-326), these are ancestral names.

The early examples of the occurrence of mār PrN offer hints of the roots out of which occupational family names developed. With hereditary occupations and a relative lack of occupational mobility, the designation mār PrN would of course remain applicable over a number of generations in a certain family. It is impossible to know if such designations

had become hereditary, before the conventional use of ancestral names in business documents and how often, if ever, the designation mār PrN at earlier periods was already hereditary.

In form the family names are derived from the patronyms, toponyms and occupational designations, added to personal names as an additional means of identification at all periods for bureaucratic and business purposes. The reason why such names should have begun to become fixed as hereditary surnames in a few families of high status in the first millennium, becoming widespread among the free population in the second half of the first millennium, are obscure.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The fact that all such names in Babylonia are formulated as ancestral names ("descendant of PN/PrN") suggests that their development may have been related to an increase in the importance vested in descent. As the very earliest examples of ancestral names in the second millennium occur among families with hereditary occupations of high status (authors, officials, priests), the later spread of their use to a larger section of the population may be related to an improvement in the status of craftsmen.⁽⁹¹⁾ The influence of Aramaean culture, with its origins in a tribal society, may also have contributed to some extent to an increase in the emphasis placed on descent in the first millennium.⁽⁹²⁾

There is, however, little indication that, once the practice of using hereditary surnames was established, the ancestors whose names were used were of any other importance to their descendants. Perhaps a consciousness of these names, when derived from personal names, as the names of individual ancestors, greater than in the case of our own surnames is indicated by the occasional practice of naming a child after his ancestor,⁽⁹³⁾ e.g. (m)Nu-ur- (d)XXX d u m u -su sa (md)N a . d u .

v e s d u m u (m)Nu-ur (d)XXX YBC 3499 (Weisberg: Text 1)L.6.

4. The Concept of Non-royal Lineage

The evidence of references to individual ancestors of Assyrian and Babylonian citizens discussed so far has consisted of statements of descent from them, providing no direct indication of the attitude of their descendants towards them or of the amount of information transmitted to their descendants about them in addition to their names. There is no text known to the present author in which an Assyrian or Babylonian other than a king makes a statement about the deeds of one of his ancestors, and even statements about a man's ancestors in general are, as noted above, very rare and restricted to contexts relating to inheritance; by contrast with references in royal inscriptions.

The importance of the effect of accidents of preservation, discovery and publication cannot be gauged, but must be considered when drawing conclusions based on the distribution of references in different types of sources. The theory that there was an appreciable difference between kings and commoners in the amount of knowledge about ancestors is given some support, however, by examination of the means by which such knowledge was transmitted. Writing was not available to the majority of the population, as it was to kings and scribes, as a medium of transmission. The importance of the continuity of the building tradition, through which kings could ensure the preservation of their monuments containing the record of their names, has been discussed in detail above,⁽⁹⁴⁾ Apart from this deliberately imposed obligation to preserve the record of and refer to the roles of individual ancestors in contributing to the continuity of the building tradition, the various types of bureaucratic and literary records of information about kings, compiled by the scribes, such as king

lists, year lists, legends, chronicles, historical omens, etc., provided material on which kings, or their scribes on their behalf, could draw for information about their ancestors to suit their needs.

The absence of such means of transmission in the private sector suggests that such knowledge as existed about ancestors of citizens must have been transmitted orally. Detailed oral traditions about ancestors are hardly to be expected in a literate society in which tribal organization and descent-based social stratification were absent. The existence of traditions about royal ancestors, the development of ancestral names and the evidence of Ch. III, showing the widespread importance attached to posterity, all suggest, however, that some oral traditions about ancestors may have been transmitted in the private sector for longer than one or two generations.

What little evidence there is of traditions about ancestors and of consciousness of status derived from descent relates to members of learned professions, and such traditions form part of the esoteric traditions of those professions. The most explicit reference of this sort occurs in the ritual text, published BBR 2 24⁽⁹⁵⁾ (p.116ff) giving instructions for the initiation of a novice into the mysteries of the art of divination. After a preamble⁽⁹⁶⁾ in which is recounted how in far-distant times the gods first bestowed the mysteries of oil-divination⁽⁹⁷⁾ and the insignia of the oil-diviner upon Enmeduranki, the text lists the conditions qualifying the applicant for initiation into the mysteries.⁽⁹⁸⁾ The first of these is that the applicant should be d u m u l ũ . ħ a l a b g a l i . g i ṣ n u m u n d a - r u - ũ n u n u z E n - m e - d u r - a n - k i (LL.22-23) "Son of a diviner, an expert in oil-divination, of an ancient line, a descendant of Enmeduranki", and ri - ħ u - u t l ũ . n u . e ṣ s a z a - r u - ũ k u "begotten of a priest, whose

father is 'pure' " (L.27). L.30 disqualifies d u m u l ū.
b a l ša za-ru-šu la k ū "The son of a diviner, whose father
 is 'impure'". The other qualifying condition is freedom from
 bodily imperfections.⁽⁹⁹⁾

This text provides clear evidence of a tradition about
 a supposed ancestor before the Flood from whom the families
 among whom the profession of divination was hereditary claimed
 descent.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The myth of the origin of esoteric knowledge in
 ante-diluvian times occurs elsewhere in ritual texts from
 the MB period onwards, and is particularly associated with
 the seven ante-diluvian sages known as apkallū⁽¹⁰¹⁾ to whom the
 authorship of works on esoteric subjects is often ascribed.⁽¹⁰²⁾
 Any tradition described as originating from these sages,
 some of whom may have been identified with early Sumerian
 kings⁽¹⁰³⁾ in the same way as Enmeduranki in the text under
 discussion,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ carried special weight and potency.

BBR 2 24 is, however, the only text in which the
 aetiological myth of the transmission of professional secrets
 from the legendary patron of a profession is explicitly
 interpreted in terms of direct biogenetical descent of the
 practitioners from the legendary figure.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In the absence of
 evidence to the contrary, and in view of the increasing
 archaism and esotericism of many literary genres from the MB
 period onwards as well as the lack of evidence of exclusive
 hereditary professions before this period,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ it may tentatively
 be suggested that the concept of literal descent arose later
 than the aetiological traditions about the "ancestor".

Much would be revealed about Mesopotamian concepts of
 ancestry if the interpretation of zārušu (lā) ellu in LL.27
 and 30 of BBR 2 24 could be precisely determined. The use
 of ellu(m) and similar adjectives in describing the descent
 of kings has been mentioned above (Ch. VI p.238).

The semantic range of the term ellu(m), "pure, clean" in Akkadian is fairly wide according to context (see CAD Vol.4 pp.102-106), including "set apart, holy" and "freeborn or freed from claims or a state of dependence on another"⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. In contexts of lineage, an element of cultic purity may be included in the use of ellu(m), as all such contexts concern either kings or bārā(m) priests, both of whom functioned as intermediaries between gods and men.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ It is not certain whether in such contexts ellu(m) and lā ellu(m) have the same connotations of high and low status as "noble" and "base" when applied to birth in the English language, but such an interpretation is very doubtful, in view of the barriers to our understanding of the religious background.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Possibly to be compared with the zāru ellu qualification for a diviner is the stipulation in YOS 7 167.10 that the mother of a temple brewer be "clean" (el-li-e-ti, cf. also L.14 a m a -su el-la-at), presumably in this case meaning cultically pure.

There is no evidence of social stratification based on descent in Mesopotamia and very little evidence of consciousness of status derived from descent expressed as pride in lineage, with the exception of the royal family and the professional pride of divination experts. Wealth, social status and reputation appear to have depended largely on the success of the individual and the favour of the "powerful" (dannu), the "great" (rābū) or "important" (kabtu), whose power derived from financial strength and royal favour.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Archives recording the business transactions of important families at various periods of Mesopotamian history show a recurring pattern of a three generation cycle during which the number of transactions increases and then decreases until the records cease after the third, or, at the most, fourth generation.⁽¹¹²⁾

Terms defining social status are very difficult to interpret in the absence of a comprehensive understanding of the social structure. It would be possible to interpret the term mār bani⁽¹¹³⁾, which occurs in texts of the NA and NB periods and later, as signifying "of gentle birth" (banu means "good, fine, nice or proper"), but there is no necessity to understand the use of māru as implying descent, as it may be used of the member of any group.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The most usual meaning of the term mār bani is "free". This meaning is shown most clearly in the use of the abstract noun mār-banu^{tu}, meaning "status of a free man", e.g. in LB slave-sale contracts.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ In a number of cases, particularly in NA letters, the mārē(pl.) bani of a Babylonian city are reported to have been acting as a corporate unit⁽¹¹⁶⁾ with a role analogous to that of the puhru(m) (assembly) or city in earlier texts. There is no evidence that the mārē(pl.)-bani were a limited group of "nobles" within the free population, except in contexts referring to the mārē(pl.)-bani of an entire nation, e.g. Asb. B iv 84: mār (var. mārē(pl))-ba-ni-e sa (kur)Elamti(ki) "the nobles of the land of Elam", who fled from a usurper with members of the royal family. No reference occurs to the mārē(pl.)-bani of Assyria or Babylonia or of an Assyrian city. It may therefore tentatively be suggested that a mār-bani was any fully free citizen of a Babylonian city⁽¹¹⁷⁾ and that the meaning was extended to describe the different institutions of foreign countries. A similar meaning has been suggested for awilu(m) (occasionally mār-awili(m)) in certain OB and OA texts, where it appears to distinguish the free from the unfree portion of the population⁽¹¹⁸⁾ and also, occasionally, to be used as an honorific epithet.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

It is to be noted that at most periods, in both Babylonia and Assyria, there is evidence that the idea of citizenship of certain cities was linked with the idea of freedom.⁽¹²⁰⁾

A few of the older cities of both Babylonia and Assyria had special privileges known as kidinnūtu,⁽¹²¹⁾ by which they were exempted from certain duties for which other royal subjects were liable. These privileges were valued highly, as is shown by the administrative correspondence of the Assyrian empire⁽¹²²⁾ and by the statements of NA kings about their respect for those rights.⁽¹²³⁾ Certain of the older cities were renowned as centres of learning,⁽¹²⁴⁾ and there is evidence that members of learned professions gained status from citizenship of those cities, e.g. the MB diviner, Manbargini-Marduk, who describes himself on his seal (published by W. H. Ward, SCWA 537a⁽¹²⁵⁾) as "of Isin stock" (n u m u n I-si-in(ki), L.4) though "born in Babylon" (i-li-da [.....] K á . d i n g i r . r a . k i, LL.5-6). Similarly, in the "Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur", the hero, posing as a physician, claims that he is a native of Isin.⁽¹²⁶⁾ The same consciousness of status derived from citizenship of an ancient city is evident in the claims of NA kings, discussed above, to be descended from a line which originated in BAL.TIL.KI, an archaic name for the royal city of Assur^{vv} (see above).⁽¹²⁷⁾

Notes

1. Described as e n n a m (bēl pihati), usually translated as "provincial governor", but M.'s responsibility seems to have covered the entire "upper and lower land [ma]-ti a n -ti u k i -ti (L.31; LL.29-30 unfortunately are broken).
2. e.g. (grandson) Asb. of Senn: PEA Pl.14:4,7; (great grandson) Adn.I of Aššur-uballit: AKA 5ff. 27-28; Šamaš-Šuma-ukin of Sargon: BBS 10 12; (great-great-grandson). Hammurabi of Sumu-la-el: CH Prologue i va 67-8; more distant descendant - see Ch.VI; līplīpu is rare of private persons.
3. Uballiṣu-Marduk, a scribe in the boundary stone MDP 10 pl.XII ix 3 cannot be the great-grandfather of Marduk-zakir-Šumi as the document is dated in the reign of Meliṣipak, contemporary with the father of Marduk-zakir-Šumi.
4. See Ch. V, p. 206.
5. Ascendants up to five or six generations are within human memory though not known personally by their descendants. In tribal societies genealogies are always most accurate up to six generations. Note that the longest full genealogy of an Assyrian king goes up to six generations. See Ch. VI n47.
6. With the exception of Bab. I and certain Achaemenid kings. (See Ch. VI section 3 and p. 226).
7. Women are often identified by their husbands' names and often patronymics as well as or instead of their fathers', e.g. ARU 84 2-4: mārat Batka aššat (m)Melizah māṛ Aššur-aḥa-iddina (borrower of 1 talent of lead. Apparently no PN given); 74 3-6:(f)Ugrabi mārtu ša (f)Mukaīlimete aššat (m)Irrigi māṛ (m)Adad-teya. Women and occasionally men may be identified by their mother's name, e.g. ARU 84 5-7:(m)Mar-(d)Ištar (lū)kapdi māṛ (f)Siqte ("bird-catcher"); Cyr. 161 40-41. These may have been special cases, e.g. sons of slave-concubines or prostitutes, not recognised by their fathers. Special circumstances probably also lie behind identification by the name of a brother, e.g. ADD 377 (Aru 399) 15; Mannu-ki-sabe aḥušu ša (m)Kinani (witness); ADD 305 (Aru 194 27): (m)Apla-usur (lū)ahū-šu ša (m)Bēl-[nig?] -gal(?)li(?).
8. Note the frequent examples of "genealogies" going back to the grandfather among MA kings cited Ch. VI section 1:3. See also Ch. I n. 98.

9. e.g. (NB) ABL 877 passim; Sel. VS 15 24 8; 12 24, etc.
10. Against such a theory, it is to be noted that, at least in NA and NB documents, the patronym is usually omitted where an official status is given.
11. In a very few cases no (m)determinative is given, possibly by accident, e.g. BBS 9 Face A: Label, 2: Bīt-Ma-hi-l[a]; 10 r.21, [D]īt-Ba-ri-ki-AN; 24, 25, Bīt-A-kar-nak-kan-di.
12. In fact this is apparently the only way of expressing membership of a lineage group in Akkadian.
13. iva 3, 14, 16 and 21.
14. māru often written a . See section 3 below.
15. Possibly through tribal territorial claims, whether as the tribe of the area, of which Bīt-Karziabku was a clan, or as leading clan of the tribe of the area, but evidence of this is lacking. Note the status of mār Dakuri, mār Amukani discussed below p.254. Bīt-Habban could be merely a small lineage with patrimonial domain over a large area, but holding it from the crown.
16. BBS 26 ii 11; BBS 27.r.21. Both minor temple personnel.
17. i 2-7.
18. 11th century.
19. See YBC 3499 LL.4, 8 (D. B. Weisberg, Gild Structure, pp.5-9).
20. n.59; cf. also ABL 844 (NB let.) r.1: d u m u (m)(!)Ia(?)-ki(?)-na (context broken).
21. r.45.
22. Reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukin. Bīt-Dakuri had been conquered by Esarhaddon.
23. iv 8. (Published KAV 216, Dupl. KAV 182 and, in transliteration, AfO3(1920) p.71; see ANET 272 for translation).
24. The Babylonian King List A (CT 36 Pl.25 iv 18) describes Mūsezib-Marduk as a b a l e , "descendant of the dynasty of Babylon". The Babylonian Chronicle (OIP 2 160 12 - 161. 24), in its account of his reign, does not mention his origin.
25. E. Unger, Babylon Pl.52-56. Translation ANET p.308.
26. Twenty-one, assuming that Iqiša-Bau in the undated document MDP 6 p.43 ii 16 (JCS 11, Appendix 1, 17) is the

- same as the Iqisa-Bau attested in the twelfth century documents BBS 4 (JCS 11, Appendix 1, 1b) and MDP 6 p. 35 iii 21 (Ibid 3d). For all the references to descendants of Arad-Ea see W.G. Lambert, JCS 11, Appendix 1. See also APN 25b-26a; S. Page, Sumer 23 (1967) 48.
27. See NN 13a; APN 26; note the writing (16) Ardi-Ea, Nbn 48 19.
28. See Lambert, loc. cit., Appendix 4, for transliteration of this text.
29. Published by P. Haupt, Nimrod-Epos, No. 52. Transliterated by Lambert, loc. cit., Appendix 3 (pp. 11-12).
30. Three are described as "scribe" lupšarru (one as lupšar sarri MDP 6 33 ii 7), eight as bēl pahati, one as saknu, one as šatan ekurrātē (pl) ("overseer of the temples"), one as lū. r a . g a b (?), and several as šadi or māšihān eqli ("measurer of land, surveyor").
31. See APN p. 26.
32. See CAD 4 290f.f.
33. See O. Schroder, KAV 216; E. Weidner, AFC 3 (1926) 71.
34. On the term ummanu(m) see in general G.R. Driver, Semitic Writing (1948) 65 n. 10.
35. e. g. ZA 36 (NF 2) 198 II 20 35-6: a-na um-ma-ni ki-is-pa ta-ka-si-ip "you make a funerary offering to the Masters", as a ritual in connection with a chemical recipe (cf. ZA 35 (NF 1) 151ff; ZDMG 78 (NF 3) 28; cf. the artificial writing u-ma-(d)A-num, referring to Adapa, ZA 37 (NF 3) 90 n. 4.
36. OL Z 23 (1920) 204-7, where the passage is discussed.
37. See D.J. Wiseman, Iraq 17 (1935) 9 & A. Schott, ZDMG (NF) 13 (1934) 324-335.
38. IIIR Pl. 2. His activities are attested from 716-684BC.
39. Generally taken (e.g. in references quoted n. 35) as referring to Nabu-zuqup-kena himself, rather than to Gabbi-lani-eres, in accordance with the common practice of placing the occupational status after the patronym. One colophon of an astrological text copied by Nabu-zuqup-kena refers to an Istar-šuma-eres as "my son" (III R 2 xii).

cont'd. next page.

57; d u m u -ia); cf. Pl.53, No.2 r.colophon (L.44): 1 u
a [...]. Istar-^vsuma-erē^v is the name of one of the most
renowned astrologers of the reigns of Esarhaddon and
Assurbanipal (see Schott, loc. cit. p.335 n.1 for refs.) and
also of the ummānu listed by the Synchronistic King List for
these reigns, possibly the same man. The ummānu may, however,
have been the son of Nabu-zera-lišir (IVR 9, Colophon), as
Nabu-zera-lišir is the name of the other (preceding?) ummānu
for the reign of Esarhaddon. Schroeder apparently does not
consider the possibility that the two ummānu of the reigns
of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon occupied their posts in turn
rather than simultaneously.

40. Mainly used of gods. See CAD 2 309f; Hwb. I p.137a.

41. See A. L. Oppenheim, JNES 19 (1960) 133-147. Oppenheim's
hypothesis, to explain certain peculiarities of the text, is
that it was intended to be read out to the priesthood and
people of Aššur, in order to win them over, because of
Sargon's "Babylonian leanings" and the uncertain legitimacy
of his rule. Note particularly Sargon's description of
himself as zēr BAL.TIL.KI, L.113. Harmakki is possibly to
be identified with (m)Har-ma-ki in ADD 536 1.

42. Note that an earlier ummānu (reign of Shalmaneser III)
was called Meluhhaya, "Egyptian" (Schroeder, loc. cit.). The
fact that the family have names with Nabu and Marduk is not
an indication of Babylonian descent, as names of this type
are fairly frequent in NA texts, and the cult of Marduk was
established in Aššur by the reign of Aššuruballit. (See
AKA I Appendix [388ff] and C. J. Gadd, CAH, (2) II/XVIII
pp.25f.)

43. There is no evidence as to the descent of the other
ummānu. It seems unlikely, in view of his name (see n.42
above), that Meluhhaya was a descendant of Gabbi-ilani-erē^v.

44. For further evidence of this see ABL 6, and 358 for
families favoured by the king. On the benefits of royal
protection see A. L. Oppenheim, BASOR 107 (1947) 7-11, and
for royal grants of land see J. N. Postgate, NA Royal Grants
and Decrees (1969).

45. On this subject see W. G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors
and Canonicity" in JCS 11 (1957) 1-14; "A Catalogue of Texts
and Authors" in JCS 16 (1962) 59-77; D. B. Weisberg, Gild
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- Mesopotamia, especially Ch. 6 (77-85) "Ancestors and Occupations" (Yale Near Eastern Researches 1.) 1967;
- A. Ungnad, "Babylonische Familiennamen" in An.Or. 12 (1935) 319-326, (cf. "Das Haus Egibi" in Afo 14 [1941] 57-64);
- Stamm ANG 270f. For examples of family names see especially K. L. Tallqvist, Neubabylonisches Namenbuch and the name lists in J. N. Strassmaier, Babylonian Texts, IV 40-68; VII 15-26; IX 16-28; and bibliography, Lambert JCS 11 p.2 n.8.
46. Recognisable by the formula mār (written a or d u m u)-su ša PN mār PN₂; for females d u m u . SĀL (or d u m u . SAL-su [= mārassu] ša) PN a PN₂. The use of a = māru, aplu for the descent of females may be purely conventional, read mārat PN₂, or it may be an indication rather of the father's descent, descent of females being of minor significance.) There is no evidence in the texts of women taking their husbands' family names. In fact married women are sometimes designated by the patronym only, e.g. Cyr. 161 39. For the frequency of family names in LB business documents, see the lists of names of scribes and witnesses in Strassmaier, op. cit. (n.45).
47. The first clear example is (m)A-ša-ri-du a -šu ša N u n u z a (m)ša-na-ši-šu (VS 6 3 13) (624BC). On the family name Šanaši/u(šu)see NN 197.
48. E.g. in landholding, particularly the practice of tax-farming and a type of mercantile domain, in class structure, and in the increasing role of private capital (see A. L. Oppenheim, Anc.Mes. p.85f. and G. Cardascia, A.M. pp.5-8.) Note also the evidence of guilds and of the improved status of craftsmen, discussed most recently by Weisberg, op. cit. (n.45) Chs. 5 and 7; and the apparent rarity of adoption as compared with earlier periods (see I. Mendelsohn, JAOS 55 [1935] p.191 n.3.)
49. Op. cit. p.79.
50. Published by Weisberg, op. cit., as Text 1. Reign of Cyrus.
51. MB onwards. See GAG 30b.
52. Already observed by Lambert, loc. cit., p.2. See K. Balkan, Kassitenstudien 1, p.163, cited by Lambert.
53. An.Or. 12 319-326.
54. See above, p. 251.

55. Egibi is an abbreviated form of the name A k u . b a . t i l a (Nbk. 164-23, 45) or E g i . b a . t i l a (Dar. 227:14) (Sum., = Akk. Sin-uballit). As both the abbreviated and the extended form occur as family names at the same period, it cannot be argued that the abbreviated form must always be a family name.

56. VS 5.5.

57. l ú . g a r . u m u š (read šaqū by earlier scholars). On this official, whose main duty was to send reports to the king from the provinces, see H. W. F. Saggs, A Study of City Administration in Assyria and Babylonia in the period 705 - 539 B.C. Thesis, London, 1954, pp.56-73. On the Egibi family see Ungnad, loc. cit. n.45 above, where the marriage alliances between this and other prominent Babylonian families are noted.

58. iv 7 (for refs. see n.23 above). The Babylonian King List A (CT 36 25 iv 17, see ANET p.272) does not refer to the descent of Nergal-ušezib.

59. See OIP 2 p.160 L.12 - 161 L.24 for the account given by the Babylonian Chronicle of this reign.

60. For NA refs. as family name see APN 79a. For LB references see NN 62b. The various occurrences of Gaḫal and Gaḫul may be abbreviations of different original ancestral names, as Tallqvist records a name Gaḫul-Marduk APN 79a and NN 63a. It is therefore possible, though perhaps improbable, that some occurrences of Gaḫal and Gaḫul may be abbreviations of personal names compounded with other divine names.

61. But as it comes from the Kuyunjik collection it must be dated before the fall of Assyria (612 BC). On this text see E. Unger, Babylon, p.302.

62. e.g. ABL 1074 8-9; cf. also ADD 891 10 and r.3. See Appendix, section 3.

63. Or "ancestral seat"? See Ch. V p. 205 and n.27.

64. The text records that a certain Nabu-bel-šunu "exempted" (ú-zak-ku-ú-ni, L.15) these men (presumably from some obligation they owed him) as an act of piety (LL.13-14).

65. L.8: d u m u n i n -šú šá (m) Tam-ma-ri-ti "sister's son of Tammaritu" (king of Elam). (Note that the Elamite succession was matrilineal and "sister's son of KN" was the

normal designation of an Elamite ruler. The subject of this passage, who is reported to have fled to a S. Babylonian tribe, may therefore have been the heir apparent to the Elamite throne.

66. LL.14-15.

67. NN 173a-b. See also Ungnad, Afo 14.

68. Also a LB family name, written l u . s i g⁷, e.g. Camb. 253.12; 46.13.

69. See Von Soden Hwb. 615-616, especially references under mar-banutu, and G. Cardascia A.M. p.137; cf. also the MB personal name (m)Ra-^vas-ba-nu-ti (BE 15.167.41).

70. The rest of the passage runs: ^vsa g i m mi-ra-a-ni
sa-ah-ri ki-rib e . g a l -ia ir-bu-^vu a-na l u g a l -ut
(kur)E n g u r (ki) ^vu U r i (ki) ^vas-ta-kan u g u . ^vsu-un
"who had grown up like a whelp in my palace, I placed over them as king of Sumer and Akkad".

71. See above p. 260 and note 58. The Babylonian King List A assigns Bel-ibni to **Bale**, thus supporting Sennacherib's assertion of his Babylonian descent. The activities of a Bel-ibni in the administration of Babylonia are attested in letters of the reign of Assurbanipal and it is possible that this was the same Bel-ibni as in his grandfather's reign. This Bel-ibni had as protégé a sister's son (ABL 277 3; 280 r.1) named Mu^vsezib-Marduk (see also 399 6). It is scarcely possible that this is the Mu^vsezib-Marduk who ruled Babylonia independently for a brief period of Sennacherib's reign (Afo 3 p.71 L.8). He may have belonged to the same family, but even this seems unlikely as his ancestry is never mentioned in the letters. On Mu^vsezib-Marduk see M. Streck, VAB 7 CIX 13); on Bel-ibni see ibid. CVIII, CX.

72. e.g. Nbn. 665.6. See Ungnad, Afo 14. 57-64.

73. e.g. Nbn. 1056.10. On the meaning see Weisberg, op.cit., p.60.

74. e.g. Camb. 431.12.

75. e.g. Dar. 463.16.

76. e.g. VS 5 41 19.

77. e.g. Nbn. 11.12.

78. e.g. YOS 6 101.16; 174:14. See Weisberg, op. cit., p.84.

79. e.g. Dar. 387 10.

80. e.g. Nbn. 1048.15.

81. See Ch. III section 2:2:1 p.154 and n.135.

82. e.g. (MA): i g i PN tupšarru mār PN₂ (mār PN₃), KAJ 62. 21-22; 163 35; 76. 23; 98. 23; 48. 19-20; Bi 1. 23-4; 3. 21-2; 10 23-4; PN (lú)Kaš-še (lú)abarakku ša dunni ša āl sarrūte, KAJ 101. 6-8.; PN mār (!) PN₂ mār PN₃ (lú)alahhinu ("miller"); 95. 5-7; PN mār PN₂ mār PN₃ (lú)nappāh hurasi ša (uru)lib-bi-āli "goldsmith of the central city (of Aššur)" (144 5-9); (Nuzi). i g i PN tupšarru, NKRA 22 (Nuzi 25); 24 (TCL 9 7); i g i PN tupšarru mār PN₂ tupšarru, NKRA 23 (Nuzi 82); i g i PN (lú)na-gi-ru mār PN₂ NKRA 28 (Nuzi 87); (ME) PN mār PN₂ mār (m)Arad-Ea tupšar šarri MDP 6 p.33 ii 7.

In NA documents most of the witnesses are usually public officials and their office is given with their name, e.g.

[i g i (m)Ba-zu-zu (lú)ba-za-nu u r u . š e SAH . 6 . g a l (uru)La-ḫi-ra-a-a Aru 101 34-5. and passim Aru.

83. e.g. (EA) Ascription to villages: (ša) (uru)X, e.g. ARU 89. 4-6; 95 6f; 76.8-9; 88 6-8; 74.7-9; (uru)Ki-li-za-ia-e. 158. 4-7.

(EA) (m)Lu-ša-kin d u m u (m)Ab-ši-e-šu (lú)Mu-sur-a-a "the Egyptian". cf. the LB family name Biširaya (Wiseman, Iraq 28 (1966) 154-158) and the NA Meluhhaya (n.42 above). See in general S. Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms (1970).

84. e.g. (MB) Eriba-Marduk d u m u Hu-up-pi-i ("acrobat"? CAD 6 240:). BE 17 58 6.

85. e.g. (MA) d u m u Gal-la-be, AfO 10 p.35, 61 7 (donor of sheep to palace); cf. surname Gallabu NN 63a.

86. e.g. (MB) (m)Is-ša-ku d u m u (d)Sin-nadin-ahhe(pl) BE 15.167, 14; (NA) (m)Ha-za-nu ^{BBS 22 4,} both designations of high officials; (lú)Nangaru CPN 54a; Naqidu 111a.

87. See Glossary under māru(m).

88. op. cit. pp.82f.

89. Weisberg, op. cit., Text I (pp.5-9), e.g. L.4: l ú . n a g a r . m e š ; L.11: l ú . k a b . s a r . m e š , "metal engravers"; L.17: l ú . k u . d i m . m e š ; cf. LL.17 and 22.

90. Only in a very few cases can a LB family name be traced back to an earlier Babylonian tribal name, e.g. (m)Naniautu BBS 30 6; NN 159a-b; Nurea BBS 10 r.24; NN 169a. cf. (d)E-a-ti-il-ba-'-du a -šu ša A-da-la-a, Dar. 386 17, possibly connected with Bīt-Adallali (BBS 3 ii 32)?

91. Such an improvement is suggested by the evidence of craftsmens' guilds at this period, on which see Weisberg, op. cit. pp.86-105.

92. No direct connection may be traced between individual Chaldaean tribal names and urban family names, with the possible exception of Gahal (see n.60). Even in more recent historical times the reasons for the rise of hereditary surnames at a particular time are difficult to determine. See, e.g., P. H. Reaney, The Origin of English Surnames (1967) pp.300-316. The main reasons suggested there are the development of hereditary (feudal) land-holding and the needs of bureaucracy.

93. No detailed examination has as yet been undertaken into the transmission of personal names within families in Mesopotamia, though the subject is discussed briefly by H. Ranke, EBPN pp.4-5. The naming of a boy after his grandfather appears to have been fairly common in the OB period, but rare at other periods. This phenomenon, known as papponymy, occurs in many societies, (see M. Noth, ZDMG 6 2f; cf. Ersatznamen, Ch. I, p.21.) Note also the MA example of a limmu official having the same name as his father's brother (Abattu: KAJ 89 and 30, linked by Adad-šamsi:56).

94. Ch. III section 2:1, 3.

95. K2486 and K4364.

96. The myth is discussed by G. Pettinato, Urwahrsagung 2 Ch. I, p.16.

97. Divination by observation of the shapes formed by oil dropped on water (lecanomancy) was one of the oldest Mesopotamian methods of divination. Most of the references to the use of the method relate to the OB period, whether in original OB texts or later copies, and according to A. L. Oppenheim, Anc. Mes. p.212, the method "apparently went out of use at a later period"; but Pettinato (op. cit. 2 pp.18-22) adduces evidence of the continued use of lecanomancy up to the NA/NB period. Note, however, that the NA copy of an inscription of the MB king Agumkakrime (VR 35), from which ii L.8 is quoted by Pettinato (l u g a l (d)u t u i n a i . g i s l u . h a l (šaman bārī) a-šal-ma, "The king consulted Šamaš through the oil of the diviner") is considered apocryphal by Landsberger (see Ch. VI n.39). This text concerns the return of the statue of the god Marduk to Babylon, and is classified by its colophon

as "hidden knowledge".

98. The taboo on revealing certain types of knowledge to the uninitiated (lā mūdū) is mentioned often in the colophons of ritual texts, (see Hwb. 8 p.666b 2)d)). A similar esotericism is illustrated by the use of rare signs by scribes, in order deliberately to obscure the meaning, from the ^{period} MB¹ onwards, e.g. the glassmaking text, BM 120960, (published Iraq 3 p.90, see above p.256). cf. also LL.37-38 of the text under discussion (BBR 2 24): ana e š b a r (purussi) ba-ru-ti la te-hi-e ta-mit pi-riš-ti ul i-pat-tu-šú "he is not fit to approach the judgements of divination; they shall not reveal (lit. "open") the utterance of oracles to him".

99. L.28: u šu-u ina gat-ti u ina š i d . m e š (mināti)-
su suk-lu-lu "Moreover he must himself be perfect in stature and proportion". LL.31-33 list physical defects which would disqualify the applicant. Some of the terms are obscure, but the list includes "squinting" (zaqtu enā), "broken teeth" (hepū sinnā), "maimed finger" (nakpi ubāni).

100. On Enmeduranki see Pettinato, op. cit., p.16; F. H. Weissbach, RLA 2 394-395; J. v.Dijk, UVB 18 44f; T. Jacobsen, AS 11 p.47 n.28.

101. Written NUN.ME = a b g a l , compounded of Sum. NUN = "ruler" and ME = "rite". Sometimes written b u z ū r . a b g a l (see A. Deimel, SL 471:9); b u z ū r = Akk. puzru "secret". In the pre. ED records from Fara (ancient Šuruppak) NUN.ME is applied to an actual profession, (e.g. R. R. Jestin, TSS 2 ii 9 & 11, 181 iv 11). Like ummānu, Sum. u m m i a , (cf. L.19 of present text and pp 256-f. & n.34, n.35 above), apkallu could be used of any learned man, as in L.23 of the present text. apkallu is also used in colophons as an epithet of scribal authors who are historical figures, e.g. K 8080 (KAT(3) 537 & JCS 11 p.7 n.27): ni-sir-ti L ū . (d)N a n n a NUN.ME Uri, "secret of Lu-Nanna, Sage of Ur". cf. ni-sir-ti u m . m e . a pi-ri-iš-ti (d)Nabū (LBAT 1526 r.17).

102. e.g. AMT 105 iv 21-24 (colophon): šā a-na š u z u -u (mūdū) šā k a a b g a l . m e š -e la-bi-ru-ti šā la-am
a . m ā u r u 5 (abūbi) šā i-na S u k u r . k i m u . II .
k a m (md)En-lil-ba-ni l u g a l (uru)Ni-si-in(ki) (md)En-
lil-mubal-lit a b g a l N i b r u (k i) ē z -bu, "(medical recipes) written down by (lit. "at the hand of") experts,

originating from (lit. "from the mouth of") the ancient Sages from before the Flood, which Enlil^u-muballit, a sage of Nippur, transmitted (lit. "left") in Suruppak in the 2nd year of Enlil-bani, king of Isin" (1858 BC); cf. K 4874 (JRAS 1932 33ff): [rā'im ? sit?]-ru ša la-am a-bu-bi "who loves (?) writings (?) from before the flood" (NA royal inscription, context uncertain, possibly description of Assurbanipal). Recipes and incantations are sometimes ascribed to Adapa, most famous of the antediluvian Sages, e.g. AMT 52 1: um-ma A-da-pa a b g a l -ma "thus spake Adapa the Sage."; STT 176 14: um-ma (m)A-da-pa ap-kal-um-ma.

103. So H. Zimmern, KAT(3) 535ff & ZA 35 151ff, disputed by H. Güterbock, ZA 42 9f and E. Reiner in a valuable article on the apkallū, with full bibliography: "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages'", in Or (NS) 30 (1961), pp.1-11. The seven Sages are listed in the text LKA 76 (see Reiner loc. cit. pp.2-4, and refs. there given), with anecdotal information. Only five names are preserved. This text shows the apkallū of the myths to have been superhuman, fish-like beings who came from the sea. In KAR 298 each apkallu is associated with a particular Mesopotamian city. For the archaeological discovery of figurines representing apkallū, see Iraq 16, Pl.17.

104. L.23.

105. With the possible exception of the flattery of an Assyrian king in ABL 923 7-9, quoted in Ch.VI section 4pp.234f, where, as noted in the discussion, the description libbi-libbi ša apkalli ū Adapa is clearly metaphorical, "a true descendant of the Sages and Adapa", as a description of a very learned man. It is interesting that such a fiction was considered pleasing to a Sargonid king in spite of the Sargonids' stress in their own inscriptions on the antiquity of their royal ancestry.

106. See Ch.II section 2:1 pp9f.

107. šuguru "most precious"; nasqu "chosen". See Ch. VI section 4 p.238.

108. This latter meaning is illustrated very clearly by certain legal documents, e.g. (OB) CT 6 29 12-13: el-la-ta ab-bu-ut-ta-ka gu-ul^u-ba-at "you are free, your slave-mark is shaved off"; (NB) BE 6/1 96 13-14: ul ik-te-ru-ši el-le-et ša ra-ma-ni-ša si-i, "they shall not claim her, she is free (and) belongs to herself". Compare the use of zukku(m) (zaku(m)) "to clear" in the sense of freeing land from claims.

109. cf. also the description of Sargon II of Assyria as s a n g a k ũ (ṣangu ellu) "pure priest" TCL 3 L.5, probably here "holy" perhaps with connotations of descent, since the office of ṣangu of Assur was hereditary in the Assyrian royal family, (see Ch. VI p.240). Babylonian kings, however, did not act as priests of the national god. The description of a MB king as n u m u n el-lum in VR 33 i 3 and 20 (see Ch.VI n.39 & n.97 above) would appear to be based (if the text is genuine) on the fiction of ultimate divine descent of the Kassite royal dynasty.

110. CAD interprets zāru ellu in this passage in the sense of "noble descent", e.g. Vol. 2, p.72: "whose father was not noble"; p.123: "who is not descendant of a freeman".

111. See above, § 2:2, p.258 & n.44. Omens and "Wisdom Literature" have as a recurring theme violent fluctuations in personal fortunes, see refs. for omen literature, Ch. III n.8-n10. On concepts of wealth and poverty in Mesopotamia and O.T. parallels, see T. Donald "The Semantic Field of Rich and Poor in the Wisdom Literature of Hebrew and Accadian", OA 3 (1964) 27-41. Particularly characteristic are the concepts of dannu(m) "strong" and ensu(m), "weak". On the differences in social stratification between Assyria and Babylonia see W. Von Soden, AO 37 1/2 (1937) 28.

112. For examples of family archives see (OB) F. R. Kraus, JCS 3 (1951) pp.49ff; 122; 123ff; (MA) see references Ch.I section 1:3.

113. cf. p.261 & n.68-9 above.

114. See Appendix section 1.

115. e.g. Nbk. 100:7; 346:6; V/S 15:3,13; 20:14. See also Nbn. 1113 r.15-19, for the significance of mār-banūtu status.

116. e.g. ABL 327:9; 328 n 14-15 (both Nippur); 844:7-8 (Babylon). On puhru mārē-banē "assembly of free men", see G. Cardascia, AM p.172 and J. Klíma, CRRA XI (1964) 11-21.

117. cf. also the MB term rās-banūti as a PN (see above n.69), and in the praise of a MB king in a letter, BE 7 24 (Pl.18) L.4: ki-ib kab-tu-ti ra-as-ba-nu-ū-ti. The parallel in this text with kabtūti, "weighty, important", might suggest that this term relates to a distinct group within the free population. Semantic considerations suggest on analogy of banū with Greek ἄριστος, lit. "best", but such an analogy obscures rather than

illuminates the very different social and political structure of Mesopotamia.

118. e.g. (OB) CH 196-205, where distinction is made between "slave" (wardum), "palace dependant" (muškēnum), and "gentleman" (d u m u a-wi-lim), similarly 215-219 with awilum, and passim CH. In OA texts awilum appears to mean "gentlemanly" e.g. J. Lewy, KTS 1 b 11; CCT 4,3b 23. cf. a-la a-wi-lim "(in your eyes he has become) not a gentleman": CCT 4,46 b,14. (A. L. Oppenheim, Or. 7 133).

119. e.g. A. Ungnad, ABPh. 106,31; 108,28; MVAG 36/1 109.

120. It is to be noted that the idea of citizenship as an essential element of freedom was a characteristic assumption also of Classical Greek political thought. See M. I. Finley, The Ancient Greeks (1963) pp.48-50.

121. The kidinnu appears to have been a symbolic object set up by the city gate. See W. F. Leemans "kidinnu: un symbole de droit divin babylonien". In Festschr. J. Ch. Van Oben (Leiden 1946), 39-61.

122. e.g. ABL 301 15-18; 878:2-11; 926:1. Citizens of privileged cities were known as sabū(pl) kidinni (ABL 926:1; BBS 35,13: Borger, Asarh. 56:11) or sing. amēl kidinni (ABL 1337 r.11; YOS 3,188,10). See also W. Von Soden, op. cit. (n.111) p.29.

123. Especially the (fragmentary) Assur Charter of Sargon II and in Sargon's inscriptions generally. kidinnūtu is also mentioned in the text known as the Fürstenspiegel (BWL 110-115 & Pl.31-32); cf. Alu 35 (KAR 377) for a similar text. The towns affected were Nippur, Babylon and Sippar, Assur and (later) Harran. Other privileges and exemptions could be granted to other towns and villages, e.g. ZDMG 72 176-8 L.4, ref. to the andurāru ("release") of Der, Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Halab, Kissikki, Nimit-Laguda. (cf. J. Lewy, Eretz Israel 5, p.21).

124. See N.102 above.

125. See I. M. Price in Harper, Memorial, pp.393-5. The inscription is clearly of MB (early Kassite) date (so W. H. Ward, loc. cit.; E. Porada, Corpus, No. 575, on stylistic grounds).

126. AS 6 (1956) p.157 L.122.

127. Ch. V P. 210 ; Ch. VI p. 233 . For further evidence of an association between citizenship and free status see the references to a "freeman of Sippar" and a "freewoman

of Nippur" quoted by F. R. Kraus, JCS 3: p.166. On the subject generally see D. G. Evans, "Cities and Citizenship in Babylonia", in Teaching History 2/2 (1968) pp.18-27; cf. also the MA adoption document KAJ 2, LL.8-12: la ú-la-ma-an-[š^vi] la ú-ma-az-z[^vi-š^vi] ki-i d u m u . SAL -š^vu-ma Aš^v-š^vu-ra-ia-e ú^v-pa-us-sí, "He shall not hu^vt her, he shall not take advantage of her (sexually). He shall treat her like his own daughter, an Assyrian, (and shall give her to a husband)".

Conclusions

On the basis of the conclusions that have emerged in the course of the thesis, six general statements may be made about ancestry and descent in ancient Mesopotamia:

1. Attitudes towards ancestors projected certain aspects of attitudes towards the father and paternal grandfather as authority figures.

These attitudes were essentially ambivalent. The duty to respect and (in old age) provide for the household head was projected for a time after his death in the ancestor cult.⁽¹⁾ Fathers had, however, only very limited authority to control the distribution of their property among their heirs,⁽²⁾ which was dictated by the customary inheritance rules.⁽³⁾ The position of the heirs, who were to take their father's property and place, may be expected to be attended by anxieties,⁽⁴⁾ particularly as the father became older and had to cede some of the management of the property to his sons.⁽⁵⁾ It may, therefore, be that the propitiatory attitude evident in the ancestor cult⁽⁶⁾ and the attitude of rivalry evident in most royal references to ancestors as a group⁽⁷⁾ reflect these lifetime tensions.

2. Descent was not used systematically for any purpose except inheritance and succession, and was of only very limited importance for the determination of social status.

This negative statement must be made at the outset as it puts the positive conclusions in 3. and 4. into perspective in relation to the systematic use of descent in kinship-based social structures for social status and political organisation.

The conclusions suggested by this study concerning the extent and nature of the use of patrilineal descent for

determination of social status in Mesopotamia must now be summarised:

The patrilineal transmission of property and roles⁽⁸⁾ meant that the economic position and occupation⁽⁹⁾ of most men were determined by those of their (natural or adoptive) fathers. There was, however, no rigidly exclusive class system based on birth, and there is no evidence of an exclusive hereditary aristocracy. It has been shown⁽¹⁰⁾ that the main distinction of class that can be discerned was between the free and the dependent, and that (with certain exceptions discussed in 3.) the proudest statements of ascribed status are in terms of citizenship of the old towns of Babylonia and Assyria with their traditional freedoms.⁽¹¹⁾ The development of family names based on occupation suggests that occupational status was also of importance, at least in Babylonian society.⁽¹²⁾

The Babylonian and Assyrian social and economic systems appear to have allowed for a certain amount of occupational and social mobility,⁽¹³⁾ and social status seems to have been a concomitant of economic status. The archives of urban financiers of different periods suggest that success based on capital rarely lasted longer than three generations.⁽¹⁴⁾

It need not be doubted, however, that the inheritance system tended to maintain the unequal distribution of wealth and the accompanying distinction of status. It seems probable that for most newly established households the head's share of his patrimonial land was at first the sole source of livelihood;⁽¹⁵⁾ hence the importance of belonging to a family which had sufficient land.⁽¹⁶⁾ This importance is illustrated by the adoption of adults as heirs.⁽¹⁷⁾ It has proved impossible to estimate the normal degree of continuity of land-ownership.⁽¹⁸⁾ A resistance in principle to the alienation of patrimonial land has been shown⁽¹⁹⁾ to have existed at most periods.

Continuity in the attachment to the land of the Assyrian peasant population may be expected to have been fairly stable.⁽²⁰⁾

3. The evidence suggests that the emphasis placed on descent was proportionate to the value of the property and status transmitted.

The striking exceptions to the conclusions drawn in 2. about concepts of status are the claims of remote descent made by kings and members of learned professions to confirm the legitimacy of their status.

Among kings the most extreme assertions of antiquity of descent occur in inscriptions⁽²¹⁾ of the descendants of Sargon II of Assyria from Esarhaddon onward, during the period of the greatest extent of the Assyrian empire. Such assertions may be interpreted as compensation for a sense of insecurity arising from the dynastic and political instability of the time.⁽²²⁾

The emphasis placed by masters of the art of divination on their "descent" from Enmeduranki⁽²³⁾ and the development of ancestral names among members of learned professions in the later second millennium appear similarly to be related to their high status and growing esotericism during this period.

The only other class of society which may be distinguished as showing an exceptional interest in ancestry is that of land-owning chieftains on the periphery of Babylonia in the MB/NB periods.⁽²⁴⁾ In this case the use of ancestral names and unusually extended genealogies seems to be connected with a system of large lineage-groups,⁽²⁵⁾ a development unattested in Babylonia proper, but also with their exceptional status as hereditary, semi-independent owners of estates of unprecedented size.⁽²⁶⁾

It must be borne in mind, however, that there is a tendency for the sources to give disproportionate representation to the interests of just these three classes, who monopolised the

power to record in a permanent written form their personal experiences and aspirations.⁽²⁷⁾ Writing was, however, available to the rest of the population for practical purposes, and the mass of legal, economic and business documents lacking genealogical references further back than the grandfather confirms the distinction made here.

4. The importance of descent among all classes seems to have increased towards the end of the second millenium, and to have reached its peak in the first millenium.

Historical reasons have been suggested in 3. for the increase in the importance of royal descent for the Sargonid kings of Assyria. Royal inscriptions from Babylonia are, unfortunately, too few to allow comparisons to be made.

On the other hand it is only for Babylonia that an interest in descent is clearly attested at all outside the royal family. Here the development can be traced back to the MB period in the use of ancestral names by scribes⁽²⁸⁾ and tribal chieftains,⁽²⁴⁾ and reached its peak in the LB period with the widespread use of family names.⁽²⁹⁾

An increase in interest in posterity apparent in the development in the MB/MA period of personal names in aplu, šumu, zēru, išdu and kudurru⁽³⁰⁾ may reflect the same phenomenon. It is possible that social and economic changes lay behind these developments, but unfortunately very little is known even of political events during the crucial MB/MA period, owing to a lack of documentation.

5. The desire for progeny as a means of extension of the identity of the individual beyond death is apparent for all classes whose aspirations are attested by the sources.

The concept of šumu⁽³¹⁾ expresses this desire. Its meaning appears to derive from the concept that the name carries the essential identity of what it symbolises. The idea of a man's personal

name was extended to include his reputation⁽³²⁾ both in life and after death. A conscious and explicit attempt was made by Babylonian and Assyrian kings to ensure that their written name survived.⁽³³⁾

As mentioned in 4. this means of ensuring a lasting name was not available to the majority, whose hopes were vested largely in their children, as is shown by the use of šumu(m), zēru(m)⁽³⁴⁾ and išdu(m)⁽³⁵⁾ in personal names, omens, curses, blessings, rituals and religious and secular poetry.⁽³⁶⁾ The ritual obligations of the ancestor cult apparently preserved the name in human speech by invocation,⁽³⁷⁾ but only for a few generations,⁽³⁸⁾ except in the royal family.⁽³⁹⁾ The discussion has failed to clarify in what other senses the identity was felt to be perpetuated through descendants or whether it was believed that the name would literally be remembered indefinitely.

6. The concept of a continuous line of ancestors and descendants existed, but was neither very significant nor developed in detail.

The term that most closely approaches this concept of lineage is kisittu, which means literally the branching part of a tree, and so suggests the branching of collateral lines from the ancestral stock.⁽⁴⁰⁾ A similar concept may be expressed by the unique šilitti abbēya.⁽⁴¹⁾ There is no evidence that either term was in common use in these meanings. A similar concept of branching is used in certain NA royal inscriptions expressing a desire for numerous descendants.⁽⁴²⁾ These usages indicate that the concept of a continuous line of ancestors and descendants existed. Lineage is, however, more usually expressed by zēru(m)⁽³⁴⁾, which cannot be shown to mean more than the relationship between father and son extended to ancestors and descendants. It cannot be shown that kinūnu belū[^] expresses a concept of lineage.⁽⁴³⁾ The partible inheritance system would militate

against any emphasis on lineal kinship, except where indivisible roles were transmitted as in the royal family. Economic documents and the extended uses of ahu(m), "brother"⁽⁴⁴⁾, illustrate the importance of solidarity among brothers.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Indeed the episode of collateral royal succession in Assyria and Babylonia⁽⁴⁶⁾ could be interpreted as an attempt to reconcile the indivisible nature of royal status with the principle of fraternal equality, though this interpretation is speculative.

The Mesopotamian concept of lineage appears to have been developed only on a collective level, embedded in the historical traditions of the community which were centred on the royal family.⁽⁴⁷⁾ An awareness of ancestors as a group⁽⁴⁸⁾ and descendants as a group⁽⁴⁹⁾ is evident in royal inscriptions of all periods. Probably the most important single factor contributing to this awareness was the royal building tradition. Among NA⁽⁵⁰⁾ and LB⁽⁵¹⁾ kings in particular an interest in the monuments of the remote past is evident. The accuracy of the traditions concerning the works of previous rulers demonstrates the effectiveness of building inscriptions in ensuring that kings were remembered for thousands of years.⁽⁵²⁾ A sense of the continuity of the building tradition is expressed by the frequent requests to successors to show the same piety towards the author's monument as he has shown towards those of his predecessors.⁽⁵³⁾ Note also the linking of ancestors and descendants in a concept of reciprocity in the ancestor cult.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The concept of dynasty in Mesopotamia, expressed by palu⁽⁵⁵⁾ derived from Sum. ba l cannot be shown to have included a concept of lineage, and originally expressed change rather than stability. This traditional Mesopotamian concept, rooted in ED political conditions, appears to have become modified in later Assyrian tradition as illustrated by certain royal inscriptions⁽⁵⁶⁾ and by the King List, which attempted to assert greater continuity

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of descent than was the case by imposing a patrilineal pattern on the record of the succession up to 1400 BC.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Royal interest in historical records may well have been influenced and reinforced by scribal interest in the past.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The role of scribes must have been crucial both in maintaining the historical records and in educating royal princes in the traditions that were to define their authority.

Notes

References are given to Chapters (I, II, etc.) and to page or note numbers (e.g. n.115).

1. IV 184f.
2. II 77f.
3. II 75-7.
4. IV 186f.
5. I n.115.
6. IV 179-82.
7. V 200f.
8. II passim.
9. II 80-2.
10. VII 267-9.
11. VII 269 and n. 121-123.
12. VII 261-4 cf. n. 91.
13. VII 258 and n. 44. See A. L. Oppenheim, Anc. Mes. pp. 87f.
14. II n. 167.
15. I 43; cf. II 75 and n. 25.
16. See bīt abi(m) in Glossary.
17. II 93f.
18. II 94f; cf. V 205.
19. II 74.
20. I 18-19.
21. V 210; VI 232-5.
22. cf. III 140; 158.
23. VII 265f.
24. VII 252-4.
25. I 49f.
26. See also III 140.
27. III 140f.
28. VII 255f. Before this period there is little evidence of interest in descent among commoners, except in sources

(chiefly PN) reflecting the background of a foreign population, the "Amorites", who were being assimilated into the OB population.

29. VII 258-264.

30. III 126-8.

31. III 123f; 134; 178.

32. III 147.

33. III 146-8.

34. III 124; 134.

35. III 128; 130f.

36. III 119-141.

37. IV 178; cf. n. 17.

38. IV 187.

39. IV 187f.

40. III 133f; VI 233; 237.

41. V 211.

42. III 137.

43. IV 185f.

44. See Appendix: 1 p.298 and n. 38.

45. Possibly more emphasised in Babylonian than in Assyrian texts, possibly because of the more authoritarian role of the Assyrian father (see I 38; 41f). Is it perhaps significant in this respect that in contestation clauses in contracts Babylonians list the brothers of the seller first, Assyrians the sons?

46. II 87-9.

47. VI 233; 239.

48. V 200-3.

49. III 148-9.

50. See V n. 68.

51. cf. V 212f.

52. V 212; 215f; 240.

53. III 144-5.

54. IV 189-90.

- 55. III 136f; 148 and n. 108.
- 56. III 136f.
- 57. VI 239f.

Appendix: Notes on Terminology

Since the pioneer work of Lewis Henry Morgan⁽¹⁾ in 1871, it has been widely accepted among social anthropologists⁽²⁾ that the system of kinship terms used by a society is influenced by the system of social roles attached to kinship relations in that society. Certainly in the simpler societies the categorisation of kin shown by the terminology is often demonstrably related to the social system.

The application of the anthropological approach to the social systems of more complex societies has shown the limitations of the use of terminology as a means of understanding social systems, and it seems improbable that this type of analysis can ever reach the status of a predictive science. Mesopotamian society contained a variety of forms of association, providing significant social roles unconnected with kinship⁽³⁾. Furthermore, Mesopotamia was open to a variety of cultural influences which have left their mark on the language, without necessarily affecting social structure.⁽⁴⁾

Under such conditions the value of terminology as an index of social structure may be severely eroded. In fact Akkadian kinship terminology is notably unrevealing.⁽⁵⁾ This Appendix, therefore, is added for the sake of completeness, rather than for any light it can cast on household structure or kinship relations. All terms discussed below are listed in the Glossary, where references to discussions and examples in the thesis may be found.

1. Kin

Diagram I shows the terms used for the kin of the individual (indicated as "ego"). This is the only form of diagrammatic presentation of kinship terminology that is

possible in the absence of kinship groups of defined limits based on descent.⁽⁶⁾

It will be seen that the basic kinship terms are only four in number: abu(m) "father"; ummu(m) "mother"; aḥu(m) (f. aḥātu(m)) "brother" ("sister"); and māru(m) (f. mārtu(m)) "son" ("daughter"). The first three terms occur in almost all the Semitic languages, while mār(t)u(m) occurs only in Arabic and Aramaic in a different meaning.⁽⁷⁾ The common Semitic root for "son", bn (f. bnt), occurs only rarely in Akkadian, in the Hymnic-epic dialect⁽⁸⁾ used in literary compositions.

Kinship relations beyond the nuclear household are expressed by combining these four terms to show the connecting relative(s).⁽⁹⁾ Such an individualising system is unrevealing of structure as compared with "classificatory" systems which place kin in broad categories which are usually socially significant.⁽¹¹⁾

Very rarely a term hālu(m) occurs for "mother's brother" in place of the usual abūummi(m). This term appears to be a West Semitic loan-word.

A number of secondary terms exists to define more closely the relationships within the nuclear family. As mentioned in Ch. II,⁽¹²⁾ a number of distinct terms express differentiations of status among brothers according to seniority.⁽¹³⁾ These terms, are, however, rare. More often distinctions of seniority among sons or brothers (less often daughters or sisters) are expressed by the use of common adjectives, either alone or accompanying the kinship term (ašaredu,⁽¹⁴⁾ rābū(m),⁽¹⁵⁾ reštu,⁽¹⁶⁾ siḥru(m)⁽¹⁷⁾.

Relationships between parents and children may be qualified according to their natural or fictive basis.⁽¹⁸⁾ The existence of a well-developed terminology to express this

distinction suggests that it may have been reflected in some aspect of the relationship, even though the rights and duties were the same for adopted as for natural offspring.⁽¹⁹⁾ Lack of kin is expressed by such terms as almattu(m) "widow" (abstr. almanūtu(m) "lack of household head"; see Ch. I n.60) and (w)ēdu(m) "man without kin" (see Glossary).

Other terms express essentially legal relationships (e.g. aplu(m), bēlu(m)) or are used only in poetic contexts (e.g. bennu⁽²¹⁾ and līdu terms for "child" e.g. bukru(m)/bakru(m); binu(m)/būnu; līdu/ildu; ligimū(m)) or in lexical texts.⁽²⁰⁾ Two terms, bennu⁽²¹⁾ and rabitum⁽²²⁾ are obscure in meaning.

Diagram I shows only terms for collateral kin which are actually attested. Terms for other collaterals could be derived by analogy, but are not attested in writing, though they may have been used in speech. Terms for female collaterals (aunts, nieces, cousins) and for collaterals related through females are far less frequently attested than males, and the same emphasis on links through males is evident in the distribution of terms for grandparents and grandchildren. A high proportion of all references to collateral kin occur in contexts dealing with inheritance. The number of references is increased, however, if cases are included where the connecting relative is named.⁽²³⁾

References to collaterals are rare in comparison with references to members of the nuclear family and grandchildren and grandparents.⁽²⁴⁾ There is no evidence of normative attitudes or customary behaviour towards collateral kin, and they are not included in the two types of source which group the kin of an individual, the lexical texts and the prayers in expiatory rituals.⁽²⁵⁾

Three types of usage of the four basic kinship terms

should be mentioned briefly as particularly revealing of their social significance. These are:

1. The use of abstracts in -ūtu(m), derived from abu(m), apu(m), ahātu(m), māru(m) and mārtu(m). No example of an abstract from ummu(m) is known to the author. Such abstracts are also formed from some of the terms for affines (see below). The Akkadian language forms such abstracts very readily,⁽²⁶⁾ so the existence of abstracts derived from kinship terms may not in itself be very significant. The way in which such abstract terms are used is, however, very significant.

The two terms derived from feminine forms (ahātūtu and mārtūtu) occur only in texts from Nuzi⁽²⁷⁾ dealing with the characteristic legal institutions of that area.⁽²⁸⁾ Of the remaining terms, mārtu(m) is used only of the legal relationship between father and son, whether natural or adoptive, and is common in adoption documents from both Babylonia and Assyria as well as from peripheral regions.⁽²⁹⁾ Both abbūtu(m) and ahhūtu(m), by contrast, are used in Babylonian and Assyrian texts only by extension to describe relationships between non-kin which were considered comparable to the normal relationship between parents and children or between brothers.⁽³⁰⁾ Only outside Babylonia and Assyria are these two terms used of a fictive relationship created by a legal process, either by the assignment by a father of his rights of patria potestas (abbūtu) to his widow,⁽³¹⁾ (Nuzi only) or by the institution of adoptio in fratrem (ana ahhūti), known from Nuzi and OB Susa.⁽³²⁾

2. The extension of the terms for near male kin to more remote kin: abu(m) = "ancestor, forefather"⁽³³⁾; apu(m) = "kinsman"⁽³⁴⁾; māru(m) = "descendant"⁽³⁵⁾. Comparable usages for ummu(m), ahātu(m) and mārtu(m) are not attested.⁽³⁶⁾

3. The extension of the terms for nuclear kin to non-kinship relations. As might be expected, abu(m) is applied to roles

of authority or protection,⁽³⁷⁾ ahu(m) to roles of equality,
reciprocity and friendship,⁽³⁸⁾ māru(m) to roles implying subor-
dination or at least respect⁽³⁹⁾ (sometimes arising from juniority)⁽⁴⁰⁾.
The use of ummu(m), ahātu(m) and mārtu(m) in this way is very
limited, being applied almost entirely to relations between
deities and human beings.⁽⁴¹⁾ By a further extension, abu(m)⁽⁴²⁾
rarely and māru(m)⁽⁴³⁾ commonly may be used to express belonging
or attachment to a wide variety of objects and institutions,
and, by a common Semitic usage, ahu(m) and ahātu(m) may be
used with no affective connotations as the normal means of
expressing reciprocal relations between persons or things.⁽⁴⁴⁾

2. Affines⁽⁴⁵⁾

Diagrams II and III show the terms used for the affines (relatives by marriage) of "ego" (male and female)⁽⁴⁶⁾.

The basic terms are mutu(m) "husband", aššatu(m) "wife", emu(m) "father-in-law", son-in-law", emetu(m) "mother-in-law", kallatu(m) "daughter-in-law, bride", hatanu(m) "son-in-law, bridegroom, male relative by marriage". Abstracts derived from all these terms occur, but are not very common (with the exception of kallūtu/kallatūtu in Nuzi contracts)⁽⁴⁷⁾.

The term aššatu(m) and the abstract ašš(at)ūtu(m) carry clear connotations of legal status⁽⁴⁸⁾ and are applied to the first and chief wife⁽⁴⁹⁾, or occasionally to two co-wives⁽⁵⁰⁾, as distinct from a concubine or slave.⁽⁵¹⁾ The term is rare in Assyrian, where SAL (presumably read sinissu = Bab. sinništū(m) "woman") is used instead,⁽⁵²⁾ and SAL-ūtu (presumably read sinništū) instead of aššūtu in marriage contracts.⁽⁵³⁾

The role of the kallatu(m) has already been discussed in Ch. I,⁽⁵⁴⁾ where the special relationship between her and her parents-in-law was adduced as evidence in support of the existence of patrilocal marriage.

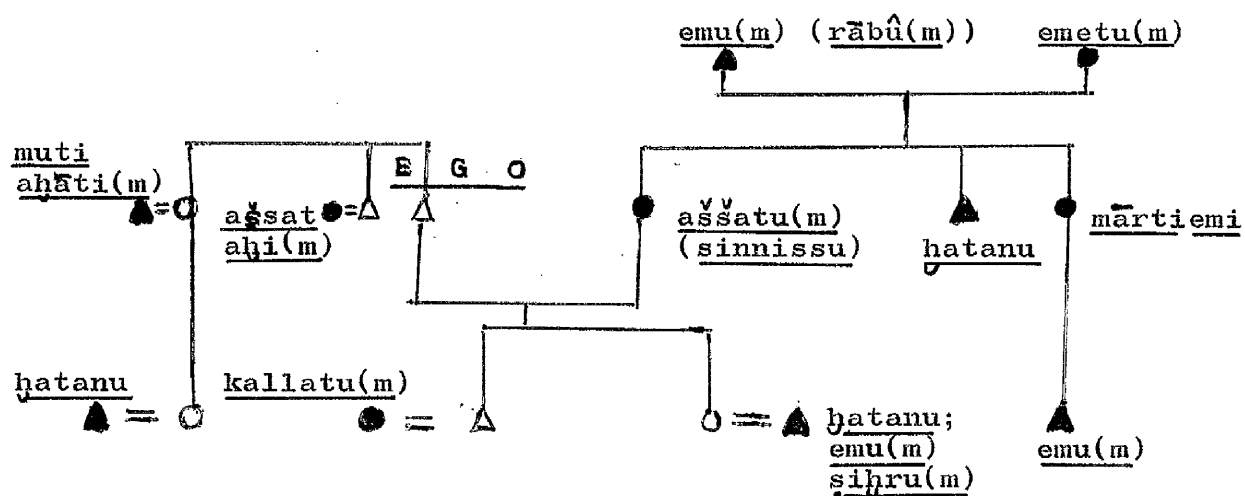
The range of meaning of emu(m)⁽⁵⁵⁾ and hatanu is particularly interesting. The most common usage of emu(m) is "father-in-law"⁽⁵⁶⁾, whether the husband's father or the wife's father, though it is most usually applied to the husband's father (a term abi muti "husband's father" occurs only very rarely in literary texts)⁽⁵⁷⁾. In certain Assyrian texts⁽⁵⁸⁾ emu is also used for "son-in-law, and lexical texts show a term emu(m) šihru(m) "young emu", in this meaning.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In one NB text emu appears to be used for "son of wife's sister"⁽⁶⁰⁾.

The term hatanu is used of any relative by marriage

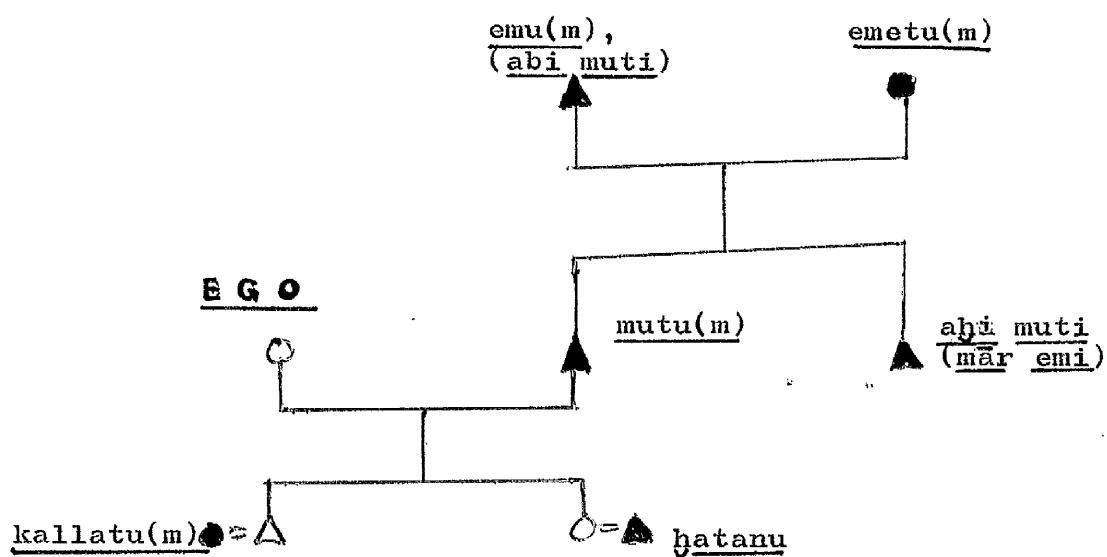
except the father-in-law. It is most usually applied to the son-in-law in opposition to emu⁽⁶¹⁾ but can also be used for "brother-in-law" (wife's brother)⁽⁶²⁾, for "daughter's son"⁽⁶¹⁾ and even for "sister's daughter's husband" (but in a Hittite context)⁽⁶³⁾. The term is relatively rare in Akkadian, whereas the root htn is the usual root for "relative-by-marriage" (related through outgoing females) in West Semitic languages,⁽⁶⁴⁾ so it seems likely that the term was borrowed from the WS inhabitants of Mesopotamia.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The range of meaning of these terms suggests very strongly that a marriage was seen as a linking of households rather than of individuals. The kallatu(m) provided the link between the household in which she was living and that from which she had come. This concept is most clearly illustrated in texts from outside Mesopotamia concerning political alliances, and in the use of the abstracts emutu⁽⁶⁶⁾ and hatnutu⁽⁶⁷⁾ in the sense of "relationship by marriage". These abstracts do not occur in Mesopotamian texts, with the exception of the phrase bīt emuti(m)⁽⁶⁸⁾, "bridal chamber", in OB and SB texts.

Combinations of the basic terms with kinship terms (muti ahāti⁽⁶⁹⁾, ašsat ahī⁽⁷⁰⁾, mārti emi(m)⁽⁷¹⁾, abi muti⁽⁵⁷⁾, ahī muti⁽⁷²⁾, mār emi⁽⁷³⁾) ahāti⁽⁶⁹⁾, ašsat ahī⁽⁷⁰⁾, mārti emi(m)⁽⁷¹⁾, abi muti⁽⁵⁷⁾, ahī muti⁽⁷²⁾, mār emi⁽⁷³⁾) are only of very rare occurrence.⁽⁷⁴⁾

II Male Ego



III Female Ego



3. Kinship Groups

Akkadian terms for kinship groups are extremely difficult to translate satisfactorily into English, particularly when two or more such terms occur in the same passage. If the reasons for the use of different terms in different contexts could be more clearly understood, our insight into the Babylonian and Assyrian kinship systems and their development would be much improved. As it is, all that can be attempted is to outline the types of context in which each term occurs.

Akkadian has only two terms for kinship groups in the absolute sense: bītu(m) and qinnu(m). The other terms (kimtu(m), nišūtu, salatu, nišū) are relative, referring to the kin of a specified individual (expressed either by a noun in the genitive case or by a possessive suffix).

There is insufficient evidence to establish whether the different terms expressed distinctions of social significance, distinguishing for example kin related through males and through females, kin and affines, or groups of narrower and wider range. Nor is there sufficient evidence to establish whether any changes took place in the usage of the terms. It must be remembered that distinctions originally significant may have lost their significance through social changes, while the terms expressing the distinctions remained in use.

The Akkadian terms bītu(m) and qinnu(m), as well as a number of terms borrowed from West Semitic languages,⁽⁷⁵⁾ are used in Akkadian texts to describe institutions of neighbouring societies whose social structures were based on segmented lineage groups.

The number of terms for kinship groups in Akkadian is further increased if terms not primarily applied to kinship groups are included, e.g. illatu(m)⁽⁷⁶⁾ "band", and various

physiological terms rarely extended to mean "kin" or perhaps rather "kinship" = the relationship between kin, e.g. zēru(m)⁽⁷⁷⁾, "seed"; damu(m)⁽⁷⁸⁾, "blood"; šīru(m)⁽⁷⁹⁾, "flesh". Note also abbūtu(m) = "kin" (n.30).

Only the six basic terms: bītu(m), ginnu(m), kimtu(m), nišutu, salatu and nišū are discussed below. The remaining terms mentioned will be found in the Glossary.

bītu(m) (ē)

bītu(m) is by far the most common term for kinship groups at all periods. Its range of meaning appears to be wide, and it is unlikely that it was used as a technical term for a clearly defined range of kin, except possibly with reference to non-Mesopotamian institutions, where there is evidence of some technical distinction between bītu(m) and ginnu(m)⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The basic meaning of bītu(m) is "house" with the full range of connotations of that term in English, as well as certain other meanings.⁽⁸¹⁾ When bītu(m) is used as a kinship term it is usually translatable "household", according to the definition used for this thesis⁽⁸²⁾ of a group of kin living under the same roof and sharing their meals. The semantic connection between the ideas of "house" and "family" is very widespread and scarcely requires elucidation. In the Mesopotamian agricultural economy the household was a relatively self-sufficient unit, at least of food production, though there was a fairly complex division of labour in society for the production of manufactured goods. In the centralised economy of the Sumerian city state the term bītu(m)⁽⁸³⁾ was applied to the temple (household of the god) and later to the palace (household of the king) which functioned as units of collection and distribution of resources. At later periods bītu(m) was still applied to temples and palaces, which still housed the divine and royal household, though their economic significance was

decreased.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The households of high Assyrian officials, no doubt operating as offices of the administration, were similarly described as bētu, though undoubtedly consisting largely of unrelated persons.⁽⁸⁵⁾

The meaning of "family" is derived from the primary meaning.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Very occasionally the term is used in a context suggesting purely kinship links without domestic significance, e.g. in references to families of slaves sold in NA documents⁽⁸⁷⁾ or in the expression mār bītim to distinguish a natural from an adoptive son⁽⁸⁸⁾ (here, however, the implication may be a child born in the house as much as belonging to the family). As mentioned above (p. 304) bītu(m) could be used to mean "tribe" in describing alien institutions. In MB/NB kudurrū, bītu is used of tribal territories (see Ch. I., n.144).

The equation bītu(m) = "the household extended over time" was important at all times. The concept appears to have been closely linked with the transmission of the household property from generation to generation. This concept is most usually expressed by the phrase bīt abi(m), "paternal estate"⁽⁸⁹⁾ which at some periods appears to carry the meaning of "family", to which the individual felt allegiance as a self-perpetuating group including his ancestors and descendants.⁽⁹⁰⁾ This concept is most strongly in evidence in Assyria⁽⁹¹⁾ and in West Semitic sources.⁽⁹²⁾

qinnu(m)

qinnu(m) means "nest" (of a bird)⁽⁹³⁾ and this may be its original meaning, though there is no evidence of this.⁽⁹⁴⁾ It occurs as a kinship term from the OB period on, but most surviving examples come from NA texts. The term may be connected with ganû(m), "to acquire"⁽⁹⁵⁾, but never occurs in connection with this verb. Some examples occur, however, of

the expression qinna(m) ganānu(m), which appears to mean "to found a family", and is sometimes used in connection with bīta(m) epēsu(m), "to set up a house"⁽⁹⁶⁾.

In a few rare cases the composition of the qinnu(m) is explicitly stated. In the MB ration list published BE 14 58 the composition of the recipients' families is given in detail, with the individual rations of the members. As mentioned in ⁽⁹⁷⁾ Ch. I, BE 14 60 lists the same households, but gives only the total ration for each household, described as qinni PN (PN being the first person listed for the household in BE 14 58). The composition of these households was discussed in Ch. I, ⁽⁹⁸⁾ where it was concluded that "nuclear" households are here listed, three of them without a father. The same meaning may tentatively be suggested for qinnu PN in other MB ration lists,⁽⁹⁹⁾ though some of the families may have been more extended.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Although qinnu(m) can stand alone⁽¹⁰¹⁾ as a term for a kinship group, the majority of references are to the qinnu(m) of an individual. In many of these cases, as in the MB lists and the references to qinna(m) ganānu(m), this individual is the head of the household.⁽¹⁰²⁾ There is no clear example of the qinnu(m) of an individual who demonstrably has any other status in the household.⁽¹⁰³⁾

qinnu(m) and bītu(m) are only rarely used together in the same passage. In literary contexts the two terms occur in parallelism,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ but such a poetic device is a poor guide to meaning. (qinnu(m) is rare in omen and ritual literature, the idea of "household" or "family" being commonly expressed by bītu(m).) In contexts referring to alien institutions qinnu sometimes appears as a sub-group or segment of the bītu ("tribe")⁽⁸⁰⁾. In an OB Mari text⁽⁹⁶⁾ qinnam ganānum and bītam epēsum occur in close proximity, but the context does not clarify any distinction in meaning.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

In a few NA and NB texts the ginnu of an individual appears to denote the agnatic⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ kin of the individual rather than his immediate dependants. The contexts in which the term occurs in Esarhaddon's treaties with his Median vassals suggest this meaning particularly strongly, e.g. VTE i 76-77:

lū ina pi š e š . m e š -su š e š . m e š . a d -su d u m u .
š e š . m e š . a d . m e š -su qin-ni-su n u m u n a d -su
 (var. n u m u n é a d -su), "whether spoken by (lit. "in the mouth of") his brothers, his father's brothers, his father's brothers' sons, his kinsmen, the seed of his father" (var. "seed of his father's house"). The phrase n u m u n (é) a d -su = zēr(bīt) abišu, frequent in NA texts, undoubtedly refers to agnatic kin, as zēru(m) = "descendants in the male line"⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and bīt abi(m) = "family" as a continuing group, particularly in contexts relating to the patrilineal transmission of property and roles.⁽⁹⁰⁾ As n u m u n (é) a d -su in this passage therefore covers precisely the range of kin listed in L.76, there is a strong presumption that the terms in the passage are synonymous and not complementary and therefore that ginnu also = agnatic kin in this text. Similar passages occur elsewhere in VTE (e.g. ii 115). In an early NB kudurru⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ qī-ni PN occurs in the clauses prohibiting litigation, where bītu⁽⁹⁾ or kimtu⁽⁹⁾ nisutu⁽⁹⁾ u salatu⁽⁹⁾ would be the more usual terms.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Here the context does not reveal the precise kin covered by the term, but the nature of the text, which deals with apparently tribal land, suggests the agnatic kin and descendants in the male line of PN.

ABL 6, a letter from the official Adad-šuma-ušur to Esarhaddon concerning the favour shown to the writer's family by the royal family, shows clearly that the ginnu of an individual in the NA period could be envisaged as extending into the past and the future, e.g. 15-16: ina pi šā a d -ia

as-si-me] ki-i qin-nu ki-en-tu at-tu-nu-u-ni "I used to hear my father say that you are a loyal family" (quoting the king's letter); r.2-3: u a-ni-nu e n qin-ni-ni m u [nabu-u], "and we, as long as our family exists (lit. "is called by name")⁽¹⁴¹⁾ (shall continue to pray for the king's life)".

A passage in ABL 358, written by the same writer on the same subject, is rather more difficult to interpret, but LL.15-20 appear to present a parallel between qinnu and certain agnatic kin: ša l u g a l be-lí is-pur-an ma-a at-ta d u m u .
š e š . m e š -ka d u m u . š e š . a d . m e š -ka up-ta-hi-
ra-ku-nu ina i g i . m e š -[ia]? ta-za-za ki-i ha-an-ni-ma
Aššur a-du qin-ni-šu (d)E n u (d)N a a-du qin-ni-šu-nu
d i n g i r . m e š g a l . m e š š a a n -e k i -tim e n
man-ni-šu-nu m u n u m u n n u n u z lil-li-du na-na-bu
ša l u g a l be-lí-ia lu-pa-hi-ru ina i g i . m e š -šu-nu
lu-ša-zi-zu, "Just as the king my lord has sent saying: 'You, your brothers' sons, your father's brothers' sons, I have gathered together, and you have stood in my presence, may likewise Aššur, together with his qinnu, Bel and Nabu, together with their qinnu, the Great Gods of heaven and earth, together with everyone belonging to them, gather together the offspring, descendants, posterity, young (and) fruit⁽¹¹³⁾ of the king my lord and cause them to stand in their presence". The uniqueness of this apparent reference to the qinnu of the Gods and in particular to mannišunu (cf. terms for "anyone" used in contracts to cover anyone connected with the parties)⁽¹¹⁴⁾ in connection with the Gods led Waterman to a rather forced translation, according to which qin-ni-šu in L.17 = the king's family, qin-ni-šu-nu in L.18 = the writer's sons' families (referring back to L.13), and mannišunu also refers to connections of the royal family. According to this interpretation, adu qinnišu(nu) can govern only the object of the sentence, but this is given in L.19 as

the royal descendants (expressed poetically). It would be a peculiarly clumsy construction that alternated subjects and phrases governing implied objects. The religious concepts behind these expressions are quite obscure, so that, assuming that qinnu does refer to the Gods, the meaning is hardly illuminated by this passage. All that may be suggested is that some poetic parallelism between LL.15-16 and LL.17-20 is apparent, so that qinnu possibly covers the range of kin mentioned in LL.15-16. This interpretation is confirmed by the VTE references and by ABL 6, which expresses the same blessing in a different way (LL.25-27: a-na l u g a l be-lí-ia a-du n u m u n -šú m u -šú n u n u z -šú lu-šam-hi-ru ina qin-ni-šú-nu lu-še-ri-bu "May (the Great Gods) summon the king my lord, together with his descendants, offspring (and) posterity and cause them to enter in their families⁽¹¹⁵⁾).

In ABL 877⁽¹¹⁶⁾ the phrase qinnu ša é PN (family name) is added to the names of men listed to define their membership of certain families, in place of the more usual phrase: mār-šú ša PN mār PN₂⁽¹¹⁷⁾. A possible explanation of the unusual phraseology is that this is an early example of a family name and the standard phraseology was not yet established. The context suggests a translation such as "a branch of the family of PN", cf. the use of qinnu = sub-group of a clan or tribe, current at this period in descriptions of alien institutions.⁽⁸⁰⁾

The writing (l ú) qinnu, pl. (l ú) qinnâte⁽¹¹⁸⁾ occurs at this period, only in references to foreigners (mainly Aramaean chieftains) and, assuming it is the same term, it appears to mean something like "entourage, followers, retinue", perhaps in fact consisting chiefly of kinsmen.

An expression gi-in-ni mah-ri-ti u e g i r -ti (arkiti) occurs in Asb. Cyl. A (VAB 7 p.56) L.82. mahrITU and arkITU

are fem. adjectives meaning "foremost" and "hindmost" or "earlier" and "later". The meaning here is obscure, though "near" and "remote" are possible.

The evidence just discussed is interesting because it suggests that the relationship between uncles, cousins and nephews (in the male line) was significant enough to be included in a single term, at least in the NA/NB period and in the highest social class. It cannot, however, be concluded that, because qinnu in other contexts means a household or at least a nuclear family, this range was necessarily included in the domestic unit, either in the royal family or in others.

kimtu(m), ni^(u)sutu, salatu

These three terms which may all be represented by the logogram i, m . r i . a, ⁽¹¹⁹⁾ occur in similar contexts, separately or in combination. It might illuminate Mesopotamian kinship structure considerably if a technical distinction between the meanings of the terms could be established. In fact the types of contexts in which the terms occur are unrevealing, so that various suggestions have been made by scholars based on etymological considerations only.⁽¹²⁰⁾ It is possible that by the period of written records these terms had already lost any social significance that they may have had. This suggestion is supported by the fact that salatu occurs never, ni^(u)sutu rarely⁽¹²¹⁾ except in combination with each other⁽¹²²⁾ or with kimtu(m).⁽¹²³⁾

The two main types of texts in which these terms occur are the sections of contracts providing against litigation by the parties or their kin, and in expiation rituals for the victims of ghosts. These two types of texts are discussed in detail in Ch. III⁽¹²⁴⁾ and Ch. IV⁽¹²⁵⁾ respectively. In the latter texts kimtu(m)⁽¹²⁶⁾ generally occurs alone⁽¹²⁷⁾ though occasionally in combination with the other terms. kimtu(m) is by far the most

common of these terms and occurs alone in a variety of contexts, including omens,⁽¹²⁸⁾ personal names,⁽¹²⁹⁾ literary texts⁽¹³⁰⁾ and rituals.⁽¹³¹⁾

Two passages in royal inscriptions use the phrase kimta ruppūsu "to extend the family" with reference to Esarhaddon. The first occurrence is BA 3 254 (inscription of Esarhaddon) viii 22-3: kim-ti lu-rap-pis sa-la-ti lu-paḥ-hir (for context and translation see Ch. III p.137). The same phrases recur in an inscription of his son, Aššurbanipal, (Annals i 29-30, see Ch. II p.84). The fact that in these passages the ideal is the extending of the kimtu,⁽¹³²⁾ but the bringing together (puḥḥūru, "to assemble", kašāru, "to tie") of the salatu (and in the Aššurbanipal inscription the nisutu)⁽¹³³⁾ suggests that the kimtu were perhaps the immediate kin, while the other terms referred to more remote kin. The distinction in meaning between the two latter terms is a matter for speculation. If it could be established that one referred to agnatic⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and the other to cognatic⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ kin, this terminology would be valuable evidence for the kinship system.⁽¹³³⁾

An unusual expression bīt kimti occurs in KAH 1 46, an inscription of Sennacherib. LL.1-3 run: é . g a l tap-su-uh-ti su-bat da-rat é kim-[ti] sur-su-du, "Palace of tranquillity, eternal abode, family residence founded (by Sennacherib)". The expressions in LL. 1-2 strongly suggest a mausoleum,⁽¹³⁴⁾ in which case bīt kimti may mean something like "family tomb". Luckenbill,⁽¹³⁵⁾ however, reads L.3 as g i m . ṛ a n , k i, Akk. kīma šamē (ū) eršetī(m) "like heaven and earth" and the traces in the published text allow of such an interpretation.

nišū(pl), niše(pl) (ukū.meš)

As a kinship term nišū usually appears to refer to the

members of the domestic family in relation to the head, and in most case may be translated "dependants". Most of the examples come from the NA period in records of the sale of slaves or of peasants together with land,⁽¹³⁶⁾ especially in the phrase PN adi nisesu,⁽¹³⁷⁾ "PN together with his family". If this interpretation is correct, nišū is not strictly a term for a kinship group, but expresses the subordinate status of the wife and children⁽¹³⁸⁾ (and occasionally other kin)⁽¹³⁹⁾ in relation to the household head. This interpretation is confirmed by the use of nišū to denote other types of relationship of subordination, e.g. of subjects in relation to a ruler.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Notes

1. The first scholar to collect and compare kinship terminologies. He recognised two types of kinship terminology, for which he coined the terms "classificatory" and "descriptive". He was chiefly concerned to illustrate his theory that the classificatory systems were relics of earlier, universal stages of human evolution, when the terminology described actual institutions, for instance in the case of "group marriage" where it would be impossible to know which of a group was one's own father. Morgan's theories of social evolution have been rejected by 20th century scholars, but he determined the direction of modern research by pointing out that different societies have different ways of classing kinship. (See L. H. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871.)

2. In the next generation of anthropologists, A. L. Kroeber at first rejected any sociological interpretation of kinship terminologies, seeing it as a purely linguistic phenomenon, but later modified his view in the light of the increasing application of the "structural-functional" approach to the study of societies. (See M. H. Fried, Readings in Anthropology II 1959, 16: A. L. Kroeber, 1909, "Classificatory Systems of Kinship".) At present no anthropologists take such an extreme position as those of Morgan and Kroeber, and all would emphasise the need to study kinship terminologies in their social context. A number of 20th century scholars have attempted to classify kinship terminologies on the basis of the varying degrees of emphasis laid on certain distinctions, e.g. generation; lineal as against collateral relationships; sex; the distinction between blood relations and affines, etc., but none is supported by a consensus of opinion. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown has formulated the principles of the "unity and solidarity of the lineage group", the relative importance of which affect the terminology. (See especially Structure and Function in Primitive Society, 1952.)

3. e.g. civic assemblies, occupational associations, business partnerships. The importance of occupational categories in Mesopotamian conceptual thinking is shown by the number of terms for occupations in the lexical lists, especially L ú = Ša (MSL 12).

4. Note the number of WS terms for lineage groups which form part of the Akkadian language but are used to describe only alien institutions (see n.72 below).
5. Sumerian kinship terminology is perhaps more revealing, but reflects a different social background, and is outside the scope of this thesis.
6. See Ch. I 3. Where such lineage groups exist, the genalogical table showing the relationships of the members to the common ancestor may be used for structural analysis.
7. Aram. "lord, lady"; Arab. "man, woman". See Hwb. pp. 614, 615.
8. On this dialect see W. Von Soden, ZA 41 163-4; W. Römer, Heidelberger Studien I (1967) 185-200; JAOS 86/2 (1966) 138-147.
9. It should be mentioned that terms for collaterals in NA sources are attested only as logograms (p a b a d , etc.) never in syllabic writings. It is therefore possible, if unlikely, that the NA dialect had distinct terms for collaterals.
10. This is the term used by Kroeber, in preference to Morgan's "descriptive", as a more logical antonym to "classificatory".
11. There appears to be no simple correlation between tribal structures and classificatory systems of kinship terminology. Note that broadly the same system of terminology (with minor differences, e.g. a term dôd = "paternal uncle or cousin") was in use in ancient Israel, together with a well-developed terminology for lineage groups. (See F. I. Andersen, "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure", in The Biblical Translator 20 (1969) pp.29-39.)
12. 2:2:4, pp. 90-1 and n.129 - n.134.
13. See also talimu(m), talimtu(m), bukru(m), bukurtu, bukratu(m), ahurrû in Glossary.
14. "foremost" = "eldest".
15. "big" = "eldest".
16. "first" = "eldest".
17. "little" = "younger, youngest".
18. See Glossary under murabbîu, (w)ālīdu(m)/bānû(m)/zāru/murabbîu; (w)ālittu(m)/bān(î)tu/murabbîtu; mār bîti(m)/ramānišu, tarbîtu(m)/liqûtu(m). See Ch. II n.156.
19. See Ch. II n.156.

20. See especially Exp. Malku I LL.174e-213 for synonyms of māru(m) = "son, child". A number of these terms mean the young of animals. Only those which are used of humans in context are listed in the Glossary. See JAOS 83 (1963) pp. 436-7.

21. Occurs only Šurpu II 35: [a-na]be-en-ni da-sa-a-tum, "he is contemptuous of his b." (followed by elder brother, father, mother, elder sister). W. Von Soden suggests "Familien-Ältester"? as a possible meaning (Hwb. I, p.122).

22. Occurs only CH 158, 24-32: šum-ma a-wi-lum wa-ar-ki a-bi-šú i-na sú-un ra-bi-ti-šú ša d u m u . m e š wa-al-da-at it-ta-as-ba-at, "If a man after (the death of) his father is caught in the bosom of his chief wife who is the mother of sons, (that man shall be expelled from his paternal estate)". Driver suggests the meaning "chief wife" (BabL. II p.231); see also van Praag, Droit matrimonial, p.115 n.22.

23. e.g. ADD 640 (Aru 45) 7-9: PN d u m u PNF n i n -šú-nu cf. ADD 70 (Aru 115) r. 6-7: PNF n i n -sa ša a m a l u g a l . Compare genealogical references to grandsons: PN d u m u PN₂ d u m u PN₃.

24. This may be considered to confirm the suggestion made in Ch. I that extended families were rare in practice, since the prevalence of full three generation families would lead to close association between the growing child and his uncles and aunts (paternal).

25. For examples see Ch. IV passim. The lexical texts cover the same relationships as the rituals (nuclear family plus grandparents), with the addition of affines - see especially L ū (MSL 12).

26. In this Akkadian differs radically from ancient (but not modern) Hebrew.

27. See also kall(at)ūtū (below 2 n.54).

28. Note that abūtu(m) and mārūtu(m) can be used of the adoption of females, e.g. (mārūtu) BE 14 40 4; (abūtu) MDP 22 3 4 (OB Susa: adoption of father's sister). Note also at-hu-te-ni, referring to relationship between a brother and sister in Diba'i 21 (see A. Suleiman, Land Tenure, p.295) L.12.

29. Note especially MDP 23 321 (OB Susa) 16-18: i-na ku-bu-us-sí-e ša ab-hu-tam ab-hu-tam u ma-ru-tam ma-ru-tam ša (d)š u š i n a k u (d)iš-me-ka-ra-ab ku-bu-us-sa iš-ku-nu-u-ma

"according to the rites by which adoptive kinship is kinship and adoptive sonship is sonship, rites which the gods Šušinak and Išme-karab have established"; examples of marūtu(m) = natural sonship occur in PBS 5 100 ii 5 and JCS 8 2 29 34.

30. abbūtu(m) is used predominantly of a fatherly, protective attitude on the part of gods, rulers or human patrons, especially in the phrases abbūta epēšu, "to behave in a fatherly manner" and abbūta sabātu "to intercede (on someone's behalf)". For examples see Hwb. I p.6. The usages of ahhūtu(m) cover "kinship", e.g. BBS 3 i 27; "kin", e.g. a.i. (MSL 1) III iv 30-31; KBo 1 10 12 + KUB 3 72; "brotherly relationship" (especially in diplomatic contexts), e.g. ARM 2 49 11; 4 20 r.25; PDK 8 15; ABL 301 15; "brotherhood, confraternity", e.g. ATHE 38 12 (OA). For particularly revealing contexts see MDP 22 3 4 (n.26 above) and 23 321 (n.29 above), neither, however, native Babylonian or Assyrian sources. Note also the appeal in a LB letter to a patron for the "great benefit" (tabtu rābātu) ša abbūtu ū ahhūtu (CT 22 43 24).

31. e.g. HSS 5 7 16-17. See E. Cassin, RA 63 (1969) 122-136.

32. e.g. (Nuzi) JEN 99 1 4; II 204; JEN 87 1 & 4; see ZA 41 (1933) pp.28ff; (Susa) MDP 23 321 (n.29 above).

33. See Ch. V passim.

34. e.g. (OB) CT 15 6 iii 3 (nephew); MB BBS 3 iv 23 ("cousin?"); BBS 9 i 11, 22: š e š . m e š = "kinsmen"?(see Ch. I n.147; also ABL 258 r.10); note possibility that ahhē(pl.) in dispute clauses of many MB/NB/NA contracts refers to wider kin than brothers (see Ch. III p.155); Nuzi: Nuzi 5 492 11 (cousin); 46; II 153 (uncle & nephew described as ahhē(pl.)); cf. E. Cassin, Adoption p.93; J. Lewy JAOS 59 (1939) 118-120. Compare usage of ahhūtu(m) = "kinship, kin", n.30 above. There is no special term for "kinsman, relative" in Akkadian, though gerbu "near" is sometimes used to mean "related through kinship", e.g. (OB) TCL 17 21 31. See A. L. Oppenheim, Dreams p.278; BBS 3 i 28 (lā gerbu); note also NA qurbu in dispute clauses after kinship terms (on possible meaning of this term see Johns, ADD III p.325).

35. See Ch. III passim.

36. Isolated examples of extended uses of terms for female kin are: ahātum = "co-wife", BIN 7 173 21. (OB), but in this case the main wife has legally adopted the second wife as sister (L.7: a-na at-hu-tim il-gi-si). On this text see F. R. Kraus,

JCS 3 (1949) 113-115; for mārtu(m) note oracle text YOS 1 45 (cf. SD 2 p.162), where after consulting the oracles concerning d u m u . SAL . m e ^š ki-im-ti-ia, "my female kin" (lit. "daughters of my kin"). (i.19), and receiving a negative response, Nabonidus tried his own daughter (d u m u . SAL si-it lib-bi-ia, i. 20) and received an affirmative response.

37. i.e. gods, e.g. (OB) YOS 2 141 1: a-na dingir a-bi-ia (let.); for further examples see C. J. Mullo-Weir, LAP s.v. and Hwb. I p.8; also frequently in PN (see Glossary); human rulers, e.g. OAKk PN Abum-(d)Amar-Sin; (d)^šSulgi -a d . m u (see MAD 3 pp.10,12); as a royal title OB only (Kudur-Mabuk); see W. W. Hallo, Royal Titles, 107ff; D. O. Edzard, ZwZw, 35 n.144 (note that these rulers had a WS background). Note also simile: ki-ma a-bi-im wa-li-di-im a-na ni-^ši "like a real father to the people", CH Epilogue xxvb 20-24; for abu(m) OB in correspondence between WS vassal rulers and their suzerains, see J. M. Munn-Rankin, Iraq 18 (1956) 81-83; of masters of slaves in PN (see Glossary).

38. Very rarely of relations with deities, e.g. in PN (see Glossary), cf. p a b . ^š e ^š . d i n g i r of relationship of king to god, RA 7 180; JNES 8 348; W. W. Hallo, Royal Titles pp.5f; AfO 20 7ff. A cultic role/^šesgallu(m) probably refers to the relationship between this functionary and the rest of the temple personnel; frequently of relations between rulers in diplomatic correspondence, e.g. Mari—see Munn-Rankin, loc. cit 76-84; (Amarna) EA 20 1-2: a-na RN... ^š e ^š -ia ha-ta-ni-ia, "to RN..... my brother, my son-in-law". See 2 n.61 below; relations between colleagues (note ahhūtu(m) = "brotherhood, confraternity, n.30 above) (OA) CCT 2 34 11; (LB) VS 16 83 7.

39. Of relations to deities in phrase mār ilī^šu, used in addressing deities. See LAP p.205 and Hwb. I p.616, also in a few PN (see Glossary); of dependants in relation to their patrons: OAKk MAD 3, 181; OA. P. Kienast, ATHE 29 10: d u m u a-wi-lim. "employee of the gentleman"; 31 38: d u m u um-me-a-nim "employee of the financier", so J. Lewy ZA (NF) 4 278, but B. Landsberger, ArOr 18 I/2 334, translates "member of the merchants' guild"; (Ugarit) PRU 4 193 5, cf. 214 3.

40. Note māru(m) = "young man", e.g. KAR 158 vi 19; vii passim; viii 3 (incipits of songs).

41. ummu(m) mainly of goddesses, see MAD 3 42 and LAP s.v;

PN (see Glossary); also of towns (see MAD 3 42; A. Deimel, ŠL 237); of slave's mistress: RPN 196a; ahātu(m) only of goddess (PN only; see Glossary); mārtu(m) of relations to deities in phrase mārat ili (type of priestess) Šurpu VIII 69 and in PN (see Glossary). On ummu egli, "mother of the land" = tablet containing history of ownership, see A. Pohl, Or. 8 (1939) p.124.

42. e.g. in such phrases as abi bītim "steward of the household"; abi ašli (abašlu) "field surveyor" (lit. "father of the line"); abi šabi (an official); for refs. see Hwb. I p.8.

43. e.g. mār bīti(m) (OB) "temple-dependant"; LB "house-slave"; in phrases connoting status: mār banī, mār kidinni, mār awīli(m); mār lā mammāna, etc. See Ch. VII pp. 268f; ; connoting geographical origin: mār GN; mār āli(m), etc; mārē(pl) ma-tim (ša-ni-tim) "natives of the/ā (foreign)land", etc. Other phrases include mār abulli(m), mār bābti(m); mār bīt tuppi(m), mār ekalli(m); mār irsītīm. For refs. see Hwb. p.616.

44. e.g. in dispute clauses in contracts: ahu(m) aha(m) lā igerrū; ahu(m) ana ahim irgumū. See Ch. III n.129 and Hwb. I p.21; of things BIN 4 51 14; ahātu(m).....ahātu(m); of people in dispute clauses, e.g. UAZP 114 13; 182 9f; of things: RA 27 153 35; VAT 6063 14 4.

45. A substantial section of the Sumerian-Akkadian lexical list L ū = ša is devoted to terms for affines (3iii 56-86 in the SB version; 4 iii 46-76 in the OB version). The list includes terms for husbands, wives and concubines plus susapinu and eburu (apparently roles connected with marriage ceremonies), emu rābū/sehru, emetu, mārti emi, and kallatu. The list continues with terms describing stages of human sexual development (etlu, batūlu, etc.). For text in transliteration see B. Landsberger, MSL 12 (1969) pp. 93ff and 125ff.

46. For lexical details of these terms see MSL 12.

47. See Ch. I section 2:2:2 pp. 41-2 and n.96.

48. Note especially the MA marriage contract, KAJ 7, by which a slave girl is emancipated from her servile status (amuttiša, L.8) and given the status of wife (aššuttiša, L.9): See Ch. I 2:2:2 n.131.

49. A term hīrtu(m), hīratu also occurs in OB/SB/LB texts in this meaning, lit. "chosen", cf. hāwīru(m), hā'īru, hāmīru,

OB/SB/NA "husband", lit. "chooser".

50. e.g. UAZP 4 4-5: a-na aš-šu-tim ù mu-tu-tim i-hu-zi-na-ti, "he has taken them in marriage"; BIN 7 173 12-13: PNF a-na PN d a m . a . n i a-na n a m . d a m . š è i n . n a . a n . s u m, "PNF has given (PNF₂) to PN her husband in marriage". (See n.36 above.)

51. Note that a slave concubine might refer to her master as mutu(m) as well as bēlu(m), e.g. especially in PN (see Glossary).

52. e.g. ADB and other administrative lists passim (see Ch. I 1:1). Note also references to SAL in the MB ration list BE 14 58 (see Ch. I 1:2), here possibly not legal wives. Other NA examples include VS 1 96 (Aru 655) 2; ABL 2 18; VTE vii 581. The only NA instance of aššatu known to the author is in the treaty of Assur-nirari V, AfO 8 17ff. r.v. 12 (quoted Ch. III p.132). On the treaty see Ch. III p.156 and n.150.

53. e.g. ADD 307 (Aru 37) 13.

54. Section 2:2:2 p.42 and n.96.

55. OB inum.

56. CH and MAL passim.

57. e.g. KAR 1 158 v (r.ii) 5 (incipit of song).

58. e.g. (OA) VAT 9230 (J. Lewy, ArOr 18/3 374 n.49) 25: e-mà-i-ma lā e-mu-ka, "Is not my son-in-law your son-in-law? (treat him well)." (Meaning clear from previous lines (20-21): a-na-kam i-na é -tim sú-ḥa-ar-tam e-ḥa-az, "He will marry a girl here in (my) house").

59. Also emu(m) rābū(m) for "father-in-law". See n.45.

60. UET 1 166 4, referring to relationships between king and deity: cf. 167 4, CAD (Vol. 4, p.156) sees an intrusion of Sumerian affine terminology (radically different from Akkadian) in this passage.

61. e.g. EA 20: 1-5. See n.38 above. The text continues (LL.4-5): um-ma RN₂.....ša i-ra-'-a-mu-ka e-mu-ka-ma, "thus (speaks) RN₂..... who loves you, your father-in-law". In a later letter (EA 21) the same speaker refers to the former recipient's son, his own grandson in the female line, as ḥa-ta-ni-ia (L.1) and to himself as e-mi-ka (L.2).

62. e.g. Nbn. 178 22 & 33.

63. KUB 23 85 1 (letter). (See H. Güterbock, Oriens 10 (1957)

358.)

64. See T. C. Mitchell, VT 19/1 (1969) 93-112; B. Z. Seligman, BSOAS 3 (1923) 62-64.

65. hatanu may also have the meaning of "bridegroom" in lit. texts, e.g. Gilg. 6.7 (var. KAR 1 115 8) (possibly error); note also the plural "in-laws" (?) in a broken military context, concerning the sack of M^mophis, R. Borger, Asarh. 67 24: (1^u)ha-ta-na-t[i-šū] qin-ni-šū....

66. (Amorite) JCS 4 64 18; possibly occurs OA BIN 4 45 36: e-mu-a-tum.

67. (Ta'annek) BASOR 94 23 24.

68. See RA 61 127-136.

69. A. Ungnad BE 7/1 104 9 (OB letter).

70. VS 16 41 7 (OB letter).

71. KAR 158 vi (r.iii) 20 (incipit of song).

72. pl. only MA MAL A 25.

73. MAL A 29 17: d u m u . m e š e-mi-e-ša; ABL 1073 6 (NA); 1255 8 (NB); Nbn. 356 24: mār (1^u) e-mi-ia (LB).

74. On ideal relationships between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law, see Ch. I n.96. Sexual relations between father-in-law and daughter-in-law were punishable by death in the time of Hammurabi (see CH 155; cf. 156); note the taboo on sexual relations between son-in-law and mother-in-law implied by CT 29 48 14: g u r u š ana e-me-ti-šū t e (itehhi) "a young man approaches his mother-in-law (sexually)", listed with incestuous relations with mother, sister and daughter, together with other unnatural events portending the fall of Akkad. Rarely affinal relationships could be extended to relationships between men and deities. See n.60 above.

75. e.g. ammum, gā'um/gāyum (possibly not kinship term), hibrum ummatum. These terms occur in OB Mari texts only, except ammum which may occur also in CH i va54: mu-šū (^u)se-er am-mi "who rightly guides the people" or "who directs the River Tigris" (see Hwb. I p.44), also in lex. lists (see Glossary). On the first three terms see A. Malamat, "Mari and the Bible. Some Patterns of Tribal Organisation and Institutions" in JAOS 82 (1962) 143-150. NA a'lu, see Glossary.

76. The meanings given by CAD for illatu are: 1. kinship group, clan; 2. confederates, clique, cohorts; 3. crew.

4. army, host, troops (always referring to an enemy);
5. donkey, caravan; 6. collegium (OA only); 7. pack (of dogs). There is no evidence that the primary meaning of the term was based on kinship. The term appears to be applied to especially close-knit groupings, cf. especially its use with the verbs kašāru, "to tie"; puttūru and purrūru, "to break up". As a kinship term illatu occurs occasionally in apposition to other terms for kin, e.g. (SB) JRAS 1936 586 14; (NA) AKA 11 34; (NA) KAH 1 3 r 29; 2 35 52; rarely alone, e.g. AKA 41 29; OB PN (see Glossary).

77. e.g. Asb. Cyl. B. iv (Streck, VAB 7 p.108) 80; RMA 257 r.2. See Ch. VI pp 238f.

78. See Ch. VI n.63. See also ABL 753 4-5. Like zēru(m), dāmu is used (though rarely) to express descent, and hence (even more rarely) kinship through descent.

79. See Ch. VI n.63.

80. e.g. ABL 1074 8-9: (lū)qin-nu an-nu-ū ša é . a d -šū ša (md)E n -šū-nu "This is a clan of the tribe of Belšunu". cf. ADD 891 10: p a b 7 qī-in-nu é PN, "total of 7, a family of the tribe of PN; r.3: p a b 3 qin-nu é PN₂; ABL 877 4, 9,15,r.3,r.8.

81. e.g. "room", "cabin", "tomb"; "container, repository, housing"; "place, plot, area, region"; "estate, aggregate of property of all kinds" (see CAD 2 pp.282-295). Note that the Greek oikos (from which our terms "economy" and "ecology" are derived) also may have the meaning of "household goods, substance" and in Attic law "estate, inheritance" (also "room, chamber"). (See Liddell and Scott's Dictionary (1940) p.1204-1205).

82. See Ch. I, p.18 and n.3.

83. See I. J. Gelb, JAOS 87 (1967) p.5.

84. See A. L. Oppenheim, Anc. Mes. pp.104-107. As an example of the economic significance of the bītu(m), see ABL 1261 r.11-12: é lid-di-nu-nim-ma ina lib-bi lu-ub-lut-ma "They should give me a house, so that I can make a living from it".

85. e.g. KAJ 101, in which a certain man, designated as ša du-un-ni ša (m)Ni-nu-a-ia "belonging to the fortress of N" (L.10), borrows corn, meal and reapers for the subsistence of his household (L.13: é -su ū-ba-li-ti). Considering the size of the loan (70 homers of corn, 70 of meal and 70 reapers)

and that the lender is a royal official ((lú) a g r i g ša
du-un-ni ša u r u šar-ru-te "overseer of the fortress of
the capital", LL.7-8), the borrower's bītu may well have
consisted largely or entirely of non-kin, whether dependent
on him as a land-owner or subordinate to him as a royal
official.

86. cf. the original meaning of the Latin familia (see Ch. I
n.2).

87. See Ch. I 1:1; e.g. ADD 232 (Aru 458) 5; NL xii (Iraq 17,
Pl. 30).

88. KAJ 1 21.

89. For bītu(m) alone in this sense note especially bītu
šūātu ultabbar, "that house will become old" in omens, e.g.
CT 40 9 6 (Alu). Note also references in omens to the "loss"
(halāqu) or "dissipation" (sapāhu) of the paternal estate as
a disastrous event, e.g. TDP Tab. 36 22; KUB XXXVII 198
(G. Pettinato, Ölwahrsagung II Text IV) r.3; CT 28 40 r.16
(Alu); omens show the desirability of "keeping together"
(paḫāru) the paternal estate, e.g. KUB XXXVII 198 20.

90. See Ch V 1:2 pp.204f.

91. e.g. especially ABL 920 9-10 (see Ch V 1:2:1 p.203.)
and the reference by king Aššurbanipal to a crown official as
iš-du šá é . a d -ia "support of my family"; in NA bīt abi
can mean "family seat, ancestral castle" e.g. ABL 46 11; 214
12; 877 passim.

92. e.g. ARM 2 1 21-23: ū d u m u . m e š l ú . m e š
dam-ḡu-tim i-na é . ḫ i . a a-bi-šū-nu-ma uš-ta-al-la-mu
"and men of good family will be supplied out of their own
family estates" (by contrast to the poorer tribesmen whose
needs will be met by the palace - LL.18-20). Note, however,
that C.-F. Jean, as editor of ARM 2, translates LL.22-3 in
a completely different sense; Idrimi 3. See Ch. V n. 27.

93. Note lex. OBGT XVII (MSL 4) 10: ú . k i . s è . g a .
m u š e n . g a r . r a = gi-in-nu ga-an-n[u]; HgB II 224,
A II 19: g i . ú . k i . s è . g a = hi-šú = qin-nu ša
m u š e n . m e š ; Din IV 25ff; Izi 331ff.

94. No etymological connection can be proved with gannu(m)
 "reed", the obvious material for nest-building in Mesopotamia.

95. cf. ganû in ADD 647 (Aru 15) 20-22: [a . š a] . m e š
g i š . SAR . m e š u kû . [m e š ša] i-na g i s s u -ia
iq-nu-[ú e]-pu-šú 'é ra-me-[ni-šú] "the fields, gardens and
 people which he has acquired under my patronage"; also 646 (Aru 16)
 and established a household of his own ". 20-22.

96. e.g. ARM 1 18 22-24: i-na GN a-šar qí-in-nam ta-ga-an-na-nu
û 'é te-ep-pé-šú ší-ib, "settle in GN, where you can found a
 family and set up house"; 28-29: aš-ra-nu-um ší-ib-ma 'é l ú .
m e š e-pu-šú û qí-in-nam qú-nu-un, "settle there, set up a
 house fit for human beings and found a family". In the context
 of this letter success in founding a family appears to be
 related to the availability of fertile land (cf. LL.25-27).

97. p.26.

98. pp.26-7.

99. e.g. BE 14 62 5, 8, 10; 117 3; 126 7; 142 5, 16; 15 160 29.

100. e.g. including a sibling or parent of the household head
 as in some of the NA examples discussed in Ch. I, pp.21-25.

101. e.g. ARM 1 18 23, 29 (see n.96); pl. qinnāti BE 14 111 7;
qinnāte AKA p.81 31 (Tigl. I); (lú)qinnāta ABL 258 8; 1074 8.

102. Note that the head of a qinnu could be female. See Ch. I
 Table V; cf. also BE 14 62 8, 10.

103. Except in PN (see Glossary) which were presumably applied
 to new-born babies (see ANG section 3, pp.8-10).

104. e.g. K 2617 ii 8 (CAD 2 p.294): bītišú lā isappuḫū qinnašú
lā ippararrū, "they shall not disperse his household or break
 up his family". Note that in ADD 59 (Aru 123) 'é . m e š -šú-nu
 is used in L.8 in the sense of "their houses" (buildings, listed
 with land and cattle) and qin-ni-šú-nu in L.10 in the sense of
 "their families". qinnu(m) appears always to refer to the
 members of the household and never to the property.

105. The distinction is most probably between the property of
 the household (bītum) and the members (qinnum), See previous
 note.

106. = kin related through males, e.g. all members of a patrilineal descent group are agnates (in theory at least). The terms agnati and cognati were used in Roman law to distinguish kin through male links, who had preference in the inheritance system, from kin through any link. See R. Fox, Kinship and Marriage, p.51.

107. The use of the plural a d . m e ^š = abbe(pl.) here does not necessarily indicate that "ancestors" is intended, as Akkadian frequently places the last noun of a phrase of this type in the plural, though the more normal Akk. construction would be d u m u . ^š e ^š . a d . m e ^š - šú. The double plural is unusual.

108. See Glossary and Ch. III 1:2 p.124.

109. MDP 6 p.31ff (Pl. IX) iii 9.

110. See Ch. III section 2:2 p.154 and n.135.

111. This is a common way of expressing the idea of existence in Akk. (cf. the phrase mimma šumšu "everything possible"), and therefore the expression cannot be taken as evidence of the importance of name in family continuity.

112. On this phrase see Ch. III n.83.

113. See Glossary and Ch. III section 1:3 passim.

114. See Ch. III p.154 and n.140.

115. cf. ABL 117 3-6: d i n g i r . m e ^š am-mar šá u₄ - mu an-ni [puhru] ip-gid ú-ni ina ki-ni ša l u g a l ^š (md Ašur) - bāni-apli ù (md) Šamaš-šuma-ukin a-dan-ni š a-dan-ni li-iz-zi-iz-zu "May the gods, as many as are assembled today, support the family of the king Aššurbanipal and Šamaš-šuma-ukin very very staunchly".

116. See Ch VII p. 260.

118. ABL 281 8; 542 7; 1074 8. Note also (lú) ha-ta-na-t [i-šu] qin-ni-šu in Borger, Asarh. section 67 24 (fragmentary context). qin-ni-šu in Borger, Asarh. section 67 24 (fragmentary context). (see n.65.)

119. On i m . r i . a in Sum. texts see A. Sjöberg, Heidelberg Studien I (1966) pp.202-209.

120. See A. Ungnad, AnOr 12 p.322 n.1; B. Landsberger, MSL 1 147-8.

121. e.g. (OA) OIP 27 No. 49 A 11-13: PN ni-^vsu-ta-^vsu-nu
i-li-kam-ma "PN, their kinsman, arrived"; B (the envelope) has
the variant: a-hu-^vsu-nu i-li-kam-ma "their 'brother' arrived".
Note A r.17-19: ni-^vsi-^vsu PN₂ a-na PN u-ta-^vsi-ir "PN₂ released
his people to PN"; (OB) RA 44 33/4 1 7 and dupl.; CT 47 63
67; (SB) CT 28 46 10 // 30 12a 7.

122. e.g. BBS 3 v 29.

123. e.g. (kimtu u salatu) AnSt 6 p.151 20; CT 46 3 8; (kimtu
ni^vsu^vtu u salatu) BBS 9 i 30; 30 21 and passim BBS; KAR 227 iii
10; 228 10; BR 8/7 5 16; Aššurbanipal, Annals i 30; BA 3 254
22-3; (combinations with illatu) AKA p.11 34-5; HGS^v 18 28-9;
(kimtu u ni^vsu^vtu) Šurpu III 8.

124. See n.110 above.

125. Especially pp. 182-7. Included in this category are
rituals to expiate guilt attaching to kinship relations (arnu(m),
māmītu(m)) discussed in the same section.

126. Possibly connected with kamū, "to bind". Note ki-mi
in SBH p.112 15 = BA 5 620 21 (curse); ki-i-mu, ki-ma-tu =
ki-im-tu (Exp. Malku I 316-7, see Glossary). Finkelstein
(RA 61 132 n.4), however, interprets ki-mi in the curse as a
by-form of kummu = "private room", on the basis of the context.

127. Often written i m . r i . a . It seems probably that
kimtu is intended in these cases, in view of examples where
kimtu is written i m . r i . a while ni^vsu^vtu and salatu are
written phonetically, e.g. BBS 27 r.10; BR 8/7 5 16. In many
texts all three terms are represented by i m . r i . a , e.g.
BBS 30 21; VS 5 41 19.

128. e.g. Dreams p.314 5; 325 x + 12.

129. See Glossary.

130. e.g. RB 59 p.244 vi 8.

131. e.g. LKA 70 i 3-4: ina i t i . š u e-nu-ma (d) Iš-tar
ana (d) Dumu-zi har-mi-šā u k ù . m e š k u r u-šab-ku-u
kim-ti 1 u as-ra-nu pah-rat, "In the month of Du'uzu, when
Ištar summons the people of the land to weep for her consort
Dumuzi, (and) the kin of the man are assembled in one place".
It is tempting to suggest, on the basis of this passage, that
one of the corporate functions of the kimtu(m) (which the
passage shows to have been wider than the domestic family) was
the performance of the mourning ceremonies (Akk. bikītu(m))
for a dead kinsman. Exceptionally kimtu occurs for the

dependants of a slave girl in a NA legal text (ADD 321 (Aru 659) 4: PNF g e m e a-di i m . r i . a). Note also d u m u . SAL . m e s̄ ki-im-ti-ia YOS 1 45 i 19; see n.36 above.

132. Note also VR 44 a-b 21: (m)Ha-am-mu-ra-bi = (m)Kim-ta-ra-pa-as̄-tum (etymology of name of Hammurabi); AnSt 4 p.70 L.79: a-na rap-si ki-ma-ti e-te-me e-da-nis̄, "To (in spite of?) my widespread kin I have become like a lone man (i.e. without kin)".

133. Note the translation by A. L. Oppenheim, Iraq 17 p.84, of part of BM 74652 (unpublished): "(any member of) her paternal or maternal family, close(ly) or distant(ly) related".

134. On burial in ancient Mesopotamia see Ch. III n.119.

135. OIP 2 p.151 (xiii).

136. See Ch. I n.10 and n.11.

137. e.g. ADD 75 (Aru 652) 23; 255 (50) 2.

138. Note examples where ni^use (u k ù . m e s̄) seems to mean "family = wife and children" by contrast to sābu (e r i m) = "(able-bodied) man", e.g. ABL 537 r.1; 459 5, 8; 849 r.9; 1412 r.3f.

139. See n.100. In CH 24 49 ni-su-su, who receive compensation for the dead victim of a robbery, are probably his dependants, but could possibly include other kin. Note also that the kin of the subject of OIP 27 No. 49, quoted above, n.121, are described as ni-si-su (r.17), while he is described as their "kinsman" (ahu), a term which is unlikely to be applied to a household head.

140. e.g. CH Prologue iia 41; cf. Epilogue xxvb 21-23 "like a real father to the people". See n.37 above.

Glossary

The Glossary lists all terms relevant to the concepts of ancestry and descent discussed in Chapters I-VIII, together with all kinship terms included in the Appendix. It is intended merely as a guide for reference to the thesis, both to discussions of terms and to passages revealing their meaning, and not as a complete lexicographical study.. Occasionally additional material, especially from personal names and lexical text, has been included, where it contributes to an understanding of the meaning..

Terms are listed in Roman alphabetical order following the practice of CAD and EWB.. References to the thesis are indicated as in the Notes to Chapter VIII. Personal names occurring in the thesis are referred to only where they have been quoted to illustrate a point.. Where appropriate the reader is referred to the main collections of personal names (see Ch.III n. 33 & List of Abbreviations) and to APG (see IIM.30& List of Abbreviations) for further examples..

Where lexical lists are quoted, Sumerian-Akkadian vocabularies are placed before Akkadian synonym lists, each in alphabetical order of titles (i.e. first lines).. References to material bearing only indirectly on a term are given in parenthesis ().

abbūtu(m) "fatherhood, paternal authority". Abstr. of abu(m)

OB,MA on. App. 297; n. 30-1.

abbūtu pl. of abu(m).

ab(i) abi(m) "paternal grandfather". OAKk. on. Log. a d .a d ,
a .a .a , p a / p a₄ .b i l .g a / g i . II 84. IV
181; n. 39. V 202f; n. 15-7. VI 239. VII 250f. App.(296);
Diagram I. PN (Ersatzname) see I 36.

ab(i) ab(i) abi "great-grandfather" (rare). NA,chaem. Log.
a d .a d .a d . V n. 57. VI n. 36. See also PEA Pl. 17
39.

abi abim hamsum "great-great-great-grandfather" (rare). OB.
V 206. VII 251.

abi muti "husband's father". SB (rare). App. 300; Diagram
III; n. 57.

abi ummi "maternal grandmother" (rare). NA, LB. Log a d .
a m .a . App. (296); Diagram I. See also ADD 911 6; Cyr.
277 4 8.

abu(m) "father, ancestor, collateral ascendant(?)" (see p. 214)..
OAKk. on. Log. a d , a , p a b. In. 74, 114, 137. II 82.
III n. 32. IV 130-2; n. 29, 39. V passim. App. 297f;
Diagram I; n. 33, 37, 42; pl. abbū, abbe V 199-205. VI 226;
n. 21, 46; pl. abbūtu V 203-4; n. 59. Lex.: za-ru-u = a-bu
Malku I 114; zi-[e-ru]-[u] = [a-bu] Exp. Malku I 158. PN
DNabi APN 6b, 54a, 143a & passim; EBPN 76b; DN-abum, Abe-DN,
etc. MAD 3 10f; slave-names EBPN 19a; HG 494. See also
bīt abi(m) under bitu(m).

apāt abi(m) "paternal aunt". App. (296); Diagram I. PN
only (Ersatzname) CPN 55b; 64a; AN 14a; ANG 302.

ahātu(m) "sister". OAKk. on. Log. n i n . I n. 61. II

n. 137. III n. 32. IV 182f; n. 39. App. 295, 298; Diagram I; n. 41, 44. PN MAD 3 23; APN 14, 59a..

ahātu(m) rābū(m) "elder/eldest sister". II n. 136.

ahāt ummi(n) "maternal aunt" (rare). MB, LB. App. (296); Diagram I; (n. 23). See also PN Dar. 379 42; pl. "mother's kinfolk" Idrimi 5f.

ahātūtu "relationship of sister (by adoption)". Abstr. of ahātu Nuzi. II n. 137. App. 297; n. 27.

ahhūtu(m), athūtu(m) "brotherhood, kinship". Abstr. of ahu(m) OB, OA on. II n. 62, 137. App. 297; n. 30, 32.

ah(i) abi(m) "paternal uncle". OB, SB, NB, NA. Log. š e š . a d . App. 307, (296); Diagram I. See also BE 6/2 43 18; Dreams 335 x + 27; King, CCEBK 1 3; pl. OEC 3 16 11, 13. PN (Ersatz-name) APN 14a.

ahi abi abi "great-uncle" (rare). LB. Log. š e š . a d . a d Only YOS 7 42 17. App. (296); Diagram I.

ahi muti "husband's brother". (rare). MA. App. 301; n. 72.

ah(i) ummi(m) "maternal uncle". (rare). OB, MB, NB, LB. Log. š e š . a m a . App. (296); Diagram I. See ABL 859; 1106; UCP 10 131 No. 58 17 179; pl. MAL A 49 61(?). PN (Ersatz-name) RPN 63a; CPN 51b. Lex.: ha-a-lu = a-hu-um-mu Malku I 125.

ahu(m), athu "brother". OAKk. on. Log. š e š , p a b (p a ₄) I 45f; n. 120, 137. II n. 61, 119, 138, (139). III 154f; n. 32, 42. IV 182; n. 39. VI n. 60. VII n. 7. VIII 289; (n. 45). App. 295, 297f; Diagram I; n. 38, 44. PN MAD 3 21-3.; AUG 43-5. ahu(m) rābū(m) "elder/eldest brother" I 46. II 76, 90; n. 38, 126-7, 132, 139. App. 295.

ahu(m) sihru(m)/sehru(m) "younger/youngest brother". II n. 39, 55, 95, 126. App. 295.

ahurru "lout, beginner, youngest son". OB, SB. II n. 131.

(w)ālīdu(m) "progenitor" OB,SB,NB. Ptcple. of (w)ālādu(m) to
 bear". With abu(m), II 84. III n. 105. VI 238. App. 295;
 n. 18,37. Cf. ālīdānišu MAL A 28 11 (// murabbiānu, q.v.)
 Lex.; a-li-[du] = [a-bu] Exp. Malku I 159. Cf. bānū.
 f. (w)ālittu(m) "progenitress" Log. a m a . g ā n With
ummu. App. 295; n.18. Cf. lā (w)ālittu(m) "barren woman"
 III 121. Lex.: a-li-it-[tum] = [um-mu] Exp. Malku I 165.
 Cf. bān(ī)tu

ālik arki[↑] "successor" (rare) V n. 10.

almanūtu(m)^t "lack of household head". SB. Abstr. of almattu(m)
 I n. 60. App. 296.

almattu(m) "unattached woman, widow". OB,MA,SB,LB. Log. n u .
 m u . . s u . , n u . . k ú š . ũ , n u . . k ú š . . k u I n. 112.
 App. 296..

a'lu "tribe, confederation(?)" NA only of Aramaic-speaking Arab
 tribes. I n. 138. App. n. 75.

ammu(m) "people". OB only. App. n. 75.

amtu(m) "slave-girl, slave-concubine, (OA)temporary wife". OAKk. on.
 Log. g e m e I n.. 128, 131.

amūtu(m) "status of amtu(m)". I n. 131. App. n. 48.

apiltu(m), aplātu(m) "heiress" f. of aplu(m). OB,SB (rare). II
 n. 58..

apkalīu(m) "Sage" VI 239. VII 266; n. 101-3.

aplu(m) "heir; son, eldest son". OAKk. on. Log. i b i l a
 II 82-3, 90; n. 58, 149. III 120, 123, 126f ; n. 38-40, 50,
 64, 93. IV 184f. VI 230, 233, 237; n. 24, 37, 39. App. 296.
 Lex.: i . b i . l a = ap-lu, ma-ru, šū-mu Diri I 267-279.

aplu(m) rābū(m)[^] "eldest heir". II 83; n. 125-6.

aplu(m) sihrū(m) "younger heir". OB. YOS 10 31 11 8, 10.

aplu(m), cont'd.

On etym. of aplu(m), see A. Falkenstein, Genava (NS) 8 313;

B. Landsberger, AfO 3 (1926) 169; Hwb. I 58. Possibly L.W.

from Sum. i b i l a.

aplu(m) rēštu(m) "chief heir, eldest heir". VI n. 39.

aplūtu(m) "status of heir, inheritance". OA, OB, Elam. Log.

(n a m.) i b i l a. II 93; n. 68.

arbu(m) "fugitive" (of in-coming son-in-law). II 94; n. 161.

(w) arkû(m), Ass. urkû "later" in phr. aššatu arkîtu, mārû

arkûtu, mutu arkû "later wife/children/husband". I n. 152.

(qinni) arkîti "later kin(?)" App. 309f. Log. e g i r .

(w) arkātu(m) "estate". V n. 10. See also rîdît warkâti(m).

arnu(m), annu "sin, guilt" (attached to kin). See Index

under "Guilt".

arutu "water-pipe,; shade, ghost(?)". IV 179; n. 19.

aššarēdu(m) "eldest (lit. "foremost") (son)". SB. App. 295;

n. 14. Lex.: e.g. [p a b.] š e š = a-šā-ri-du Lú 4 77.

See also KAR 97 r. 3.

aššatu(m) "Wife" Oakk. on. Log. d a m . In. 60, 125, 131.

VII n. 7. App. 300; Diagram II; (n. 45).

aššatūtu(m) "status of wife". Abstr. of aššatu(m). I n. 131.

App. n. 48.

bakru See bukru.

BAL . TIL . KI Old name of city of Aššur. V 210; n. 39-40.

VI 233, 239; n. 36. VII 257f; n. 41.

bānu(m) "to produce, beget". Log. d ū . Root of : bānu "progenit-

or", bānîtu "progenitress". ^{II 82.} ³⁶ VI n. 27; napnîtu "creation, production, offspring". VI 230, 238; n. 27; bīnu, bīntu, būnu,

banû(m), cont'd.

bun(a)tu "child" ; bīn bīnī "grandchild". Hymn. only.

III n. 34. App. 295f; n.8, 20. PN MAD 3 97; APN 147b;

ANG 38. Cf. (w) ālidu(m).

bēlu(m) "master, lord". I n.75. App. 296.

bēl aššati(m) "husband, fiancé". I 38; n.73.

bēl bīti, bēlit bīti(m) "head of household, chief of tribe" . I n. 68; VII 252.

bēl kimti "head of family(?)". Lex. only [l ū i m .
r i . a] = be-el ki-im-tim (followed by bēl ummati, bēl
kisri). OB Lú C5 (MSL 12 p. 196) 5.

bēl mār(t)i(m) "guardian of boy/girl". I 38; n. 73.

bennu Meaning uncertain. App. 296; n. 21.

bīnu See banû(m)

bītu(m) "house(hold), family, tribe, family property"

OAkk. on. Log. é . I n. 131, 137. II 75, (90); (n.4),
n. 25. III 154; n. 68, 135. VII 261. App. 303-5, 306-7;
n. 80-88, 96; bēl bīti(m) see bēlu(m)

bīt abi(m) "father's house, family, agnatic kin, patrimony".

OB, OA on. Log. é . a d , é . a b . b a . II 94; n. 15,
23, 160, 167. IV 182, 184. V 205; n. 27. VII 260.; n.
63. App. 305, 307; n. 89-92.

bukru, bakru "child" Bab. only, mainly Hymn. II n. 132; VII

257; n. 40. App. 296; n. 20. f. bukurtu

bukru rēstu "eldest son". II n. 132.

būnu See banû(m)

dādu(m) "darling, favourite child". II n. 132. III n. 32, 74.

damu(m) "(blood), kin, descent". (rare). VI n.63. App. 304; n.78.

dāru(m) "generation(?)". V 215f.

duppussu(m) "younger son/brother". SB. Log. d u p . ū s . s a
(Sum. LW). II 90f; n. 130-2, 140.

durgu "origin". VI 233; n.35f.

(w)ēdu(m) "lone" (without kin). App. 296.

ēdāniš "like a lone man". App. n. 132.

ēdumānu "alone". I n. 38.

elātu(m) "additional share". Log. s i b . t a . II n.38.

ellu(m) "pure, noble". VI 230f, 237f; n. 57. VII 265-7;
n. 108-10.

emetu(m) "mother-in-law". Bab. Log. SAL . u š b a r .

I n. 96. App. 300; Diagrams II&III; n. 45.

emu(m), imūm "father-in-law, son-in-law, son of wife's sister"

OB.OA on. Log. u š b a r . App. 300f; Diagrams II & III;
n. 55-6, 58, 60.

emu(m) rābū(m) "father-in-law" App. Diagram II; n. 45.

emu(m) sihrū(m) "son-inlaw" . App. 300; Diagram II; n. 45.

emūtu(m) "relationship by marriage". Abstr. of emu(m). App.
301; n. 66, 68.

errebu(m) "in-son-in-law". App. II n.161. Abstr. errebūtu(m).

esirt^u(m) "(enclosed) concubine". OB,SB,NA. I n. 131.

etimū(m) "ghost". OB,OA on. Log. g i d i m . III 151.

IV 177-80, 183, 189; n. 10, 12. 19-20, 29, 38-40, 50; 59.

ewuru "heir" (Nuzi). II n. 128. Abstr. ewurūtu.

gā'um, gāyum "work-gang". OB Mari only. App. n. 75.

Possibly grouped according to clans. See M. Birot, RA 47

ga'um, cont'd.

(1953) 127; J. Bottéro, ARM 7 (1957) 223f; J.-R. Kupper,

Nomades p. 20 n. 1.

na'irutu(m) "status of husband" (rare). SB. Abstr. of

hawiru(m) q.v. Ee IV 81.

halu(m) "maternal uncle" (rare). OAk., OA, OB, NB. App. 295;

Diagram I. Lex. ha-a-lu = a-hu-um-mu Malku I 125. PN only

except OB: YOS 10 51 ii 15; 52 ii 14; MLVS 2 5 34; MDP 24

376 9. PN MAD 3 127; SLB 1/2 4 23; BE 11/1 46 ii 12. BE

6/1 62; H. De Genouillac, PRAK I 57 No. 219. ANG 286 & n.3.

Rare in Ass./Bab. PN as compared with OB Mari (theophoric

element). See H.B. Huffmon, "Amorite Personal Names in the

Mari Texts. (1965) & WS onomastica generally.

hammu(m) "head of household". OB, NA. I n. 68. f. hammatu(m)

"mistress". Only of goddesses in stative. MB, SB, LB. Abstr.

hammutu(m) "status of head of household". SB, NA (ha'utu).

hammu(m), ammu(m) "paternal uncle, kinsman". PN only OB Amorite.

See Huffmon, op. cit. For different interpretations

see A.J. Albright, AJSL 38 40-41; D.D. Luckenbill, JAOS

39 250-3 ("people"); J. Lewy, HUCA 18 (1943-4) 429-88 (WS

Sun-God Hammu). Cf. Noth, IPN 77 for Aram. & Isr. examples.

Very uncertain occurrence in Akk. PN.: OAk. -a-mi, -a-ma,

MAD 3 43; Ass./NB -imme, -emme, -amme, -hamme ANG 57f.

hatanu(m), hatnu "in-law". OB, OA on. I n. 87, 96; App. 300f;

Diagrams II & III; n. 61-5. Not listed in Lex. Lú (see

App. n. 45).

hatnutu "(relationship by) marriage". I n. 87. App. 301;

n. 67. Abstr. of hatanu(m).

hawiru(m), ha'iru, hamiru "husband", lit. "chooser" hiaru(m).

Bab., NA. App. n. 49.

hibru(m) A tribal subdivision. OB Mari. I n. 138. App. n. 75.

hīr(a)tu(m) "wife", lit. "chosen" $\sqrt{\text{hiāru(m)}}$. See hāwīru(m).

Bab. App. n. 49.

(w)ildu(m) "child, young" $\sqrt{\text{(w)alādu(m)}}$. VII 269. App. 296;
n. 20.

ilittu "origin, birth". $\sqrt{\text{(w)alādu(m)}}$ VI 231, 238; n. 59.

cf. (w)alīdu(m), īīdu(m), littu(m), lillīdu(m), lillittu(m)

illatu(m), allatu Ass. ella/etu(m) "band, kinship group".

OB, SB, MA. in mng. "kinship group". Log. i l l a t .

PN: DN-illati "DN-is-my-Family" YOS 5 132 1; 145 1; Ali-
ellati "Where-is-my-Family?" RPN 65a; Ilšū-ellasseu "His-
God-is-his-Family" ANG 299. II 130f. App. 303; n. 76.

išdu(m), ildu, ešdu ("bottom, root, foundation), male child(as
assurance of continuation of household)". Log. s u ḫ u š

(see šuršū(m)). Oakk. on (mainly Oakk. & MB in this mng.).

III 123, 128, 130f, 133, 135, (137f); n. 45f, 61., 62.

IV n. 10, 42. VII 288.

kallatu(m), Ass. kalla/utu "daughter-in-law, bride". Oakk. on.

Log. ḡ . g i₄ . a (see Babl. 2 230 74). I 41f, 44; n. 96.

(IV n. 63). App. 300; Diagrams II-III; n. 45.

kallatūtu(m), kallūtu(m) "status of daughter-in-law". Abstr. of

kallatu(m). II n. 164. App. 300. Mainly Nuzi. OB Gilg. IV/24;

kall(a)utu(m), cont'd.

VA B 5 3 8; MB PN BE 15 19 15.

kidinnu(tu), kidennu "privileged status (of certain cities).^e

VII 269; n. 121-3.

kimtu(m), kintum, kīmu, kīmatu "kin". Oakk. on. Log. i m .

r i . a . III 132, 137; n.135. IV 179,181, 183; n. 39, 51.

App. 310f; n. 119f, 123-32, 134f.

bēl kimti See bēlu(m).

mārat kimti See mārtu(m).

kīnu(m), kēnu(m) "(lasting, faithful, true), legitimate, stable".

Oakk. on. Log. g i . n a , g i n . II n. 87. III 127f; n. 43-5. VI 230.

kinūnu(m) belū(m) "extinguished brazier". II n. 149. IV 185f;

n. 46f. VIII 288.

kisittu "(branches of a tree collectively, ramification),

lineage". III 133f. VI 233, 237.

kispu(m) (also kipsu) "funerary offering" .. OB,SB,NA.. Log.

k i . s ē . g a . IV 177,183, 185, 188f.; n. 740,50,,55, 58f.

VII n. 35.

kudurru "eldest son" . MA, MB on.. (Very rare; Elamite LW.).

Log. n i g . g u b . III 127. Mainly PN, esp. MB,NB: APN

72b, 74b, 75, 131, 152f.

labī/ēru(m) "ancient". Oakk. on. $\sqrt{\text{labāru(m)}}$ "to be old"

labī/ēru(m), cont'd.

(V n. 26). Log. l i b i r . r a . V 212; VII n. 102.

lā zīzu(m) see zīzu(m).

līdu(m) "child, young" $\sqrt{(w)alādu(m)}$. App. 296; n. 20. Cf.

(w)ildu(m), ilittu, littu(m), lillidu(m), lillittu(m).

ligimū(m), nigimmū, nagimū "palm sapling, offspring". (poet.) OB,

SB. Sum. LW? App. 296; n. 20.

lillidu(m) "young, offspring". $\sqrt{(w)alādu(m)}$. OB, SB, OA.

III 123, 137; V n. 51. Cf. ilittu, etc.

lillittu(m) f. of lillidu(m). V 211; n. 151.

lipištu(m), lipiltu "scrotum, sperm, descent". OB, SB. Log. n u
VI n. 63.

līpu(m), lēpu, līp(i)-līpi, liblibbu "offspring, descendant".

Oakk. on. Log. n u n u z (Cf. pir'u(m)). IV 182; n. 32f. VI

230-3, 239f.; n. ³⁶38f. 42, 59. VII 250f, 254-7; n. 2. Log. for

līp(i)-līpi, liblibbu = š à . . b a l (. . b a l).

liqûtu(m) "adopted child". OB, SB, NA. $\sqrt{lequ(m)}$ "to take, adopt".

App. n. 18.

littu(m) "offspring, descendant". $\sqrt{(w)alādu(m)}$. VII 238. Cf.

ilittu.

māru(m) "first, foremost, earlier". With māru(m) NB I n. 125.

With qinnu NA App. 309f.

māmītu(m) "oath". See Index under "gilt".

mār ahāti(m) "nephew (sister's son)". OB, NB, Elam. Log.

d u m u . n i n . (II n. 56). VII n. 65, (71). App. Diagram I; (295f); (n. 9). OB BIN 7 32 5; Elam: MDP 23 282 3; 283 3; 284 2; NB ABL 277 r.3; RMA 52 r.6.

mār ahi(m) "nephew (brother's son)". OB, NA. Log. d u m u .

s e š . III 154; n. n. 138; App. (295f), 308; Diagram I.

OB VS 16 188 28; CT 8 3a 11; 15 6 iii 3; NA contracts *passim*.

mār ah(i) abi(m) "cousin (father's brother's son)". OB, NA.

Log. d u m u . s e š . a d (see App. n. 9). App. Diagram I;

(295f), 307f; n. 107. OB VS 8 31/2; 33/4; 108/9; CT 43 13

16; (CT 4 20a & JCS 11 2f); NA ABL 131 6-7; r. 11; ADD 641

(Aru 44) 13.

mārat ahāti "neice (sister's daughter)". Boghazkøi letter

only: KUB 23 85 8: ("you have married") d u m u . S A L . n i n -

iā. App. Diagram I; (n. 63).

mārat ah(i) abi(m) "cousin (father's brother's daughter)". OB

II n. 68. App. Diagram I; (295f).

mār emi "brother-in-law". App. 301; Diagram II; n. 73.

mār mār(m) "grandson". OAKk. on. Log. d u m u . d u m u .

a . . a . I n. 62. III 136, 154, (155). V n. 10. VI 230;

232. App. (296); Diagram I.

mār mār mār(m) "great-grandson". OB Lex. only: n i . n i .

n i = mār mār mār ma-ri-im = na-gi-rum S(a) (AS 16 24) 114.

mār mār mār mār(m) "great-great-grandson". (rare).; pl. only:

d u m u . d u m u . d u m u . m e š . LB I 36f. OB Lex.:

n i . n i . n i . a = mār mār mār mār ma-ri = um-ma-na-tum.

mār mār̄ti, "grandson (daughter's son)". MB only. Log. d u m u .
d u . m . u . . SAL BBS 3 i 11-13; 40-42. II n. 73. App. (296);
Diagram I.

mār̄ti emi "husband's sister". App. 301; Diagram II; n. 45, 71.

mārtu(m), OAkk. ^{OA} mar'atum/mer'atum, SB also mērtu, LB also māstū
"daughter, girl". OAkk. on. Log. d u m u . SAL. I 26;
n. 45, 68. III 122, 127. IV 182-4, 187; n. 37, 63. VI
n. 60. App. 295, 297; Diagram I; n. 7, 39. PN: Mārat-DN; Mārat-eršetim ~~BP~~PN 191b. Note that NA names in mārtu are
probably based on Aram. m r t "lady" (eg. APN 135).
mārtu(m) rābītu(m) "elder/eldest daughter". II n. 136. App.
295; n. 15.

mārat kintī "kinswoman(?)" (lit. "daughter of kin". App.
n. 131.

mārtūtū(m) "relationship of daughter (by adoption)". Nuzi. App.
297; n. 27f..

māru(m), OAkk./Ass. mar'u(m), OA usu. mer'um "son, child, descend-
ant". OAkk. on. Log. d u m u . I 42; n. 45, 62, 117, 125,
137. II 82, 84-6; n. 39, 54f, 58, 61, (79), 98, 104, 107,
109, 119, 127, 133. III 121f, 127f, 136, 149, 154f, 157;
n. 13-15, 32, 34, 38f, 76, 135, 138, 140, 142, (155). IV
182f, 188. V n. 42. VI & VII passim, App. 295, 297f; Diagram
I; n. 20, 22, 39, 40, 43.

māru(m) rābū(m) "elder/eldest son". II 83, 90-2; n. 34, 125,
133, (134); App. 295; n. 15.

māru(m) sihrū(m) "younger/youngest son". e.g. MAL B 1 10
(see II n. 29).

mār bīti "natural son" lit. "son of the house". MA. II n. 55.

mār ramēni "own son". MAL A 46 106. (App. 295f; n. 18).

mārtū(m) "sonship". OB, OA, ~~SB~~MA, LB. App. 297; n. 28f. II n. 53.

Abstr. of māru(m)

munutukū "heirless"., munutukūta alāku "to become heirless".

MB,SB. Sum. LW. Log. m u . n u . t u g . II n. 148.

Also DA p. 103 14 (subject amēlu "man").

murabbīanu, murabbānu "stepfather, fosterfather". MA,NA

√ rāb(i)u(m) II "to raise". I n. 126. App. 295; n. 18.

f. murabbītu "stepmother, fostermother" (rare). App.

295f; n. 18. Lex.: a-si-tum, a-hi-tum = mu-[ra-bi-

tu(?)] Malku I 129-36. See also rābitu(m)

mūšaru "written name; monument". MB,NA,LB. III 147; n. 104.

muti aḥātī(m) "sister's husband". OB App. 301; n. 69.

mutu(m) "husband; (man, warrior)". OAKk. on. Log. d a m .

(cf. aššatu(m)). I n. 125; App. 300; Diagram III; n. 51.

Lex.: d a m = mu-tum Hh (MSL 5) I 87; d a m . d a m =

al-i mu-ti 89. PN ANG 58; 298; 312 (mainly slaves with re-

ference to their masters).

mutūtu(m) "relationship of husband, marriage". App. n. 50.

Abstr. of mutu(m)

nannabu "fruit, offspring". MB,NA,LB. III 123, 130f, 133;

n. 82 . App. 308.

nāq mē(pl.) "pourer of water, person responsible for duties of
ancestor cult". MB,SB,NA . III n. 64. IV 177f, 183f; n. 8,
59.

nišū(pl.) "
nišū dependants, members of household, people". Mainly
NA. Log. u k u . m e š . I n. 10f, 23. II n. 4. App.
303f, 311f; n. 121, 136-40.

nišutu "kin". Bab/OA. Log. i m . r i . a . III n. 135. IV
179, 181, 183; n. 39. App. 303f, 310f; n. 119-121, 123, 127.

pala'u(m), palū(m) "(turn of a spindle, term of office), (year of)

pala'u(m), cont'd.

pala'u(m), cont'd.asty". Oakk. on. Log. b a l . III 136-9,
145, 148; n. 79, 101, 108. V n. 34. VI n. 59. VIII 289;
n. 55. PN: APN 42a; 171a; AS 11 78f & n. 48.

pānū(m) "first, former". In phr. mutu(m) pā nū(m) "former
husband". CH 177 39f. I n. 125.

f. pānūtu. "former wife" MAL A 46 104. I n. 125.

papallu "branch". III 137.

pappaltu "semen". (?) III n. 69.

pāqidu(m) " caretaker, one responsible for care of the dead".
OB,SB,NA. IV 176-8, 183, 187.

pir'u(m), pirhu(m), per'u "shoot, offspring". Oakk. on. Log.
n u n u z (wr. PIR . HI). Cf. līpu(m). III 123, 130, 133,
135-7, 139, 150; n. 43, 58, 68. V 210. VI 233. VII 265.

qātu(m) "(hand), share of inheritance". MA, II n. 34, 55.

qerbu(m) "related" $\sqrt{\text{qarābu(m)}}$ "to be near, approach". App.
n. 34. See also ana ahhūti ana PN lā qerbu BBS 3 i 270; --
—ul qurrub iv 24-6.

qinnu(m) "family, lineage segment, (nest)". Bab., MA, NA. I 26;
n. 137. III 138. VII 260; n. 62. App. 303-10; n. 65,
80, 93-118.

qinna(m) qanānu(m) " to found a family". App. 306; n. 96.

rabitu(m) Meaning uncertain. App. 296; n. 22.

rīdīt (w) arkāti(m) "heiress" $\sqrt{\text{rādū(m)}}$ "to follow, succeed".
II n. 58. V n. 10.

qāntu, pāntu

riđûtu, ređûtu "succession, inheritance". SB,NA. II 82, 84;
n. 149. Abstr. from riđû(m).

salatu "kin". MB,SB,NB,NA. Log. i m . r i . a . III 137,
154; n. 135. IV 181, 183; n. 39. VII 261. App. 303f.,
310f; n. 119f, 122f.

sinnis^vtu(m), Ass. sinnissu "female, woman; Ass. wife". Log.
SAL. I 20. III 122. IV n. 63. App. 300; n. 52f.

situ(m) "issue". (w)as^uu(m) "to go out". Cf. wus^um.
VI 233; n. 36.

šalša'u(m) "third(son)". MB only. II n. 133.

šilittu Meaning uncertain - "indirect line(?)". V 211.

šintu(m) "decision, will". Elam, Nuzi: "will" = testament
disposing of estate after death. II 77; n. 45-8.

šīru(m) "flesh, kin, descent". (rare). OB,OA. Log. u z u .
VI 239; n. 63. App. 304.

šumu(m) "name, (male) posterity, son". OAk. on. Log. m u .
III 123f, 127, 129-32, 134f, 137, 139, 144, 146f; n. 24,
39, 43, 56, 61, 75, 81, 103. IV n.40. V 212. VIII 287f
Lex. // aplu(m), maru(m), zēru(m), e.g. CT 12 814-6;
Diri I 267-279; SA VI/1 (MSL3) 99-104.

šursu(m) "(root), male child (as assurance of continuation of
household)". Cf. išdu(m). OAk.,SB,NA. Log. s u ḫ u š .
III 133f, 137; n. 71. PN MAD 3 289; APN 226b. (Note: s u ḫ u š
in certain OAk. inscriptions is possibly to be read šurs-
um instead of išdum, the usual reading).

talimu(m), f. talimtu(m) "companion (-brother)"(?) OB, SB, NA, NB.

Log. t a m . m a , a n . t a . Meaning uncertain, but does not appear to express differentiation of status among brothers. II 83; n. 92.

tarbitu(m) "fosterchild". OB. $\sqrt{\text{rābū(m)}}$. Cf. murabbīanu. App. 295f; n. 18.

tardennu(m), terdennu(m), terdu "second (son), younger (son), secondary". II 90-2; n. 129, 131-4. III n. 39. f. tardenni-tu(m) adj. "lesser, minor". Ph. IV (MSL 5) 78. II n. 133.

tuppussū(m). See duppussū(m).
ummatu(m) large tribal organisation. OB Mari only. App. n. 75.

bēl ummati. See bēl kinti under bēlu(m).

ummi abi(m) "paternal grandmother". OB. e.g. PBS 5 100 i 4-5; ii 30 (cf. In96); (II n. 68). App. (296); Dia gram I. PN: (Ersatzname) APN 241b; ANG 302.

ummi ummi(m) "maternal grandmother". SB. Log. a m a . a m a . IV 181; n. 39. (App. (296); Diagram I.

ummu(m) "mother". OAKk. on. Log. a m a . III n. 32. App. 295, 2 97f; Diagram I; n. 41.

(w)alidu(m). See alidu(m)

wusūm "origin". OB $\sqrt{\text{(w)asū(m)}}$ "to go out". (Cf. sītu(m)). VI 237.

zākir šumi(m) "caller of the name (in ancestor cult)". III 123; n. 19. IV 178, 183f, 187.

zāru(m) "begetter". VII 2 65-7; n. 110. See zēru(m).

zēru(m), zar'u "seed, descendant(s), (male) lineage". OAKk. on. Log. (š e) . n u m u n . (II n. 4). III 123f, 126f, 129-132, 134-7, 139, 150; n. 39, 43, 59.

zēru(m), cont'd.

129-32, 134, 7, 139, 150; n. 39, 43, 59-61, 68, 75, 82, 93, 103. IV n. 42. VI 233, 237-9, 242; n. 59, 61, 63f. VII 255; n. 41, 110. VIII 287f. App. 304.. See zāru(m)

zittu(m) "share (of inheritance)". OB,MA on. Log. h a .1 a

√ zāzu(m) "to share". II n. 5, 29, 38, 40, 54, 133. IV 186. cf. zīzu(m).

zīzu(m) in lā zīzu(m) "co-parcener". OB,MA. I 45f; n. 117.

See zittu(m).

List of Abbreviations.

(See Introduction, pp. 16-17).

abstr.,	abstract form of noun.
Achaem.	Achaemenid period.
<u>ADD</u>	Johns., <u>ADD</u> .
Adn.,	Adad-nirari.
a.i.,	Lex. series <u>ana ittišu</u> (<u>MSL</u> 1).
Akk.	Akkadian.
<u>Alu</u>	Lex. series <u>šumma alu ina mēlē šākin</u> (see Ch. III n. 10).
<u>ANG</u>	Stamm, <u>Nameng</u> .
App.,	Appendix to thesis (pp. 294-326).
Aram.,	Aramaic.
<u>Asarh.</u>	Borger, <u>Asarh.</u>
Asb.,	<u>Assurbanipal</u> .
Asb. Annals	Annals of <u>Assurbanipal</u> (Streck, <u>Assurb. II</u>).
Ass.,	Assyrian.
<u>AssL.</u>	Driver & Miles, <u>AssL</u> .
<u>AT</u>	Wiseman, <u>AT</u> .
Bab.	Babylonian.
<u>BabL.</u>	Driver & Miles, <u>BabL</u> .
Bi.	Billa Texts (Finkelstein, <u>JCS</u> 7).
<u>CAD</u>	<u>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</u> . Chicago & Gluckstadt. 1956ff.
<u>CAH(2)</u>	<u>The Cambridge Ancient History</u> , revised edition of Volumes I & II. Issued in fascicles, 1961ff.
<u>Camb.</u>	Strassmaier, <u>Camb</u> .
<u>CH</u>	<u>Codex Hammurabi</u>

(cont'd. next page).

<u>Ch.</u>	cont'd. (cuneiform text published by E. Bergmann, Scripta Pontificii Institutii Biblici 51. Rome. 1953. See Driver & Miles, <u>BabL. II</u> , for transliteration).
Ch.	Chapter.
<u>CHitt</u>	<u>Code Hittite</u> (published by F. Hrozný. Paris 1922).
<u>CL</u>	<u>Code of Lipit-Ishtar</u> (published by F.R. Steele, <u>AJA</u> 52).
col.	column.
cont'd.	continued.
Cyl.	Cylinder.
<u>Cyr.</u>	Strassmaier, <u>Cyr.</u>
<u>Dar.</u>	Strassmaier, <u>Dar.</u>
Diri	Lex series D i r i DIRI <u>siāku</u> = <u>watru</u> .
DN	name of deity.
<u>Dreams, Dreambook</u>	Oppenheim, <u>Dreams</u> .
dupl.	duplicate.
<u>EBPN</u>	Ranke, <u>EBPN</u> .
ED	Early Dynastic period.
Etym.	etymology.
Exp.	Explicit Version (of lexical series).
f.	following.
(f).	determinative for names of females.
ff.	following.
<u>GLECS</u>	<u>Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques</u> . Comptes rendus.
GN	geographical name.

- Haase, Einführung. See Bibliography.
- Hunger, Tieromina MVAG 14/3. Berlin. 1909.
- Hwb. Von Soden, AHW.
- Hymn. Hymnic-Epic Dialect (see App.n. 8).
- JRAI Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
- KAV Schroeder, KAV.
- Khors.L. Khorsabad King List (see Bibliography under Gelb & Poebel).
- KN name of king.
- L. Line.
- LB Late Babylonian period.
- LE Goetze, LE.
- Lex. lexical series.
- lit. literally.
- Ll. Lines.
- log. logogram.
- Lu Lexical series L ú = šá (published by Landsberger, MSL 12, 1969).
- LW loan word.
- (m) determinative for names of males.
- MA Middle Assyrian period.
- Malku Lex. series Malku = šarru (published by Draffkorn-Kilmer, JAOs 83)
- MAL Middle Assyrian Laws (cuneiform published by Schroeder, KAV 1-2, 4-5 & 143. See Driver & Miles, AssL. for transliteration).

<u>MarOr.</u>	<u>Monographien des Archiv Orientalní.</u>
MB	Middle Babylonian period.
<u>MLVS</u>	<u>Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling</u> <u>van Spijkerschrift Inscripties</u> (Amsterdam 1933/6).
mng.	meaning.
N	name.
N.	Nötscher (see Ch. I n. 60).
NA	Neo-Assyrian period.
NE	Neo-Babylonian period.
<u>Nbk.</u>	Strassmaier, <u>Nabuch.</u>
<u>NB Law s.</u>	See Driver & Miles, <u>Babl. II</u> , pp. 324-47.
<u>Nbn.</u>	Strassmaier, <u>Nabon.</u>
<u>Nbp.</u>	Nabopolassar.
NF	Neue Folge.
<u>NKRA</u>	Koschaker, <u>NKRA.</u>
NO	New Orient.
NS	New Series.
OA	Old Assyrian period.
OA	Oriens Antiquus.
OAkk.	Old Akkadian period.
OB	Old Babylonian period.
OS	Old Series.
p.	page.
<u>phr.</u>	<u>phrase.</u>
pl.	plural.
Pl.	Plate.
PN	personal name.

poet.	poetry.
pp.	pages.
PrN	professional name.
Racc.	ThureauDangin, <u>Racc.</u>
ref.	reference.
SB	Standard Babylonian (literary dialect).
Senn.	Sennacherib.
Smith, <u>History.</u>	Smith, <u>Early History.</u>
s. o.	someone.
Sum.	Sumerian.
s.v.	sub voce (under the word).
Tig.	Tiglath-pileser.
Tn.	Tukulti-Ninurta.
<u>UAZP</u>	ⁿ Scorr, <u>UAZP.</u>
<u>UDB</u>	Speiser, <u>UDBD.</u>
usu.	usually.
var.	variant.
Vol.	Volume.
<u>VTE</u>	Wiseman, <u>Vassaltreaties.</u>
wr.	written.
WS	West Semitic.
//	parallel (in poetic context).
✓	root.

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Note: included are: -

- (a) Publications of texts which have proved the most useful sources for the thesis.
- (b) The most important books and articles on topics covered by the thesis, including comparative material.

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